



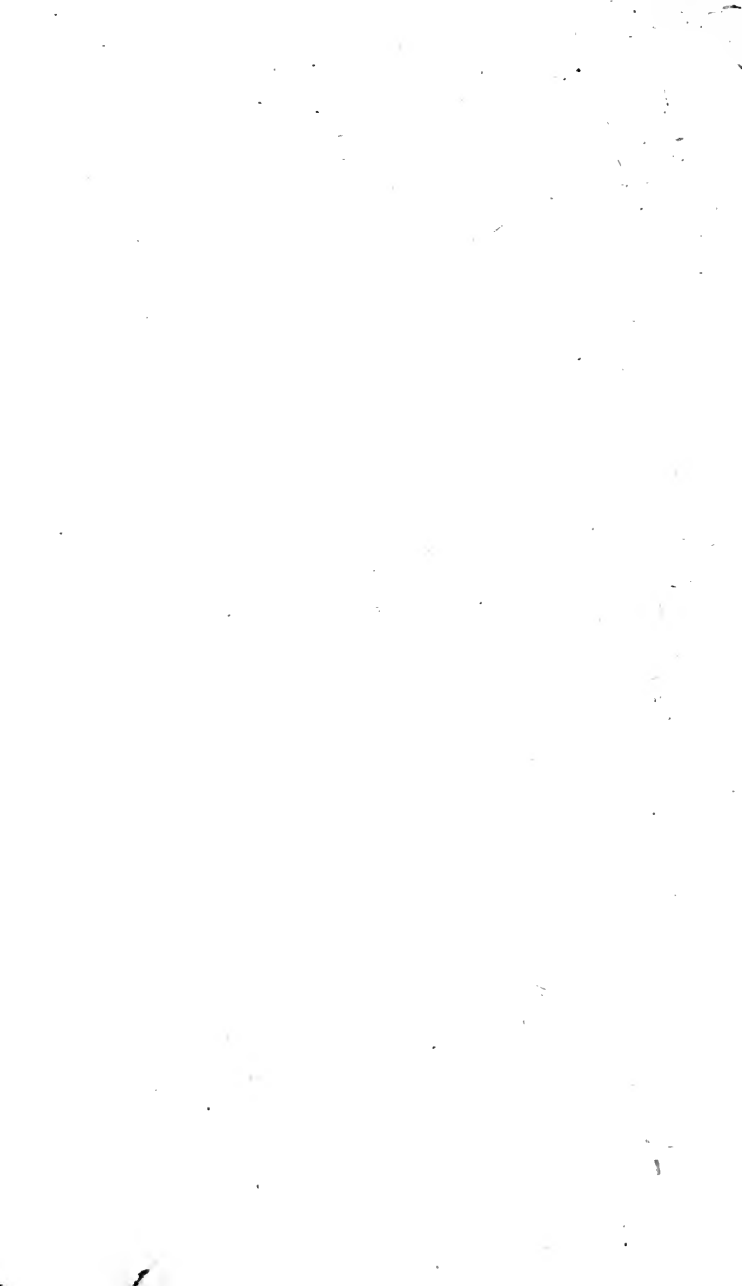
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THE *Answer 1711*

# DUTY

OF

## INFERIOURS

Towards their

## SUPERIOURS,

IN FIVE

## Practical DISCOURSES,

SHEWING

- I. The Duty of Subjects to their Princes.
- II. The Duty of Children to their Parents.
- III. The Duty of Servants to their Masters.
- IV. The Duty of Wives to their Husbands.
- V. The Duty of Parishioners and the Layity to their Pastors and Clergy.

To which is prefix'd

A. DISSERTATION concerning the  
*Divine Right of Princes.*

---

By *Will. Nichols*, D. D.

---

*Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ*

*Tractas: & incedis per ignes*

*Suppositos cineri doloso.*

Hor. Lib. 2. Od. 1.

---

L O N D O N,

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# THE INTRODUCTION.

**I** Have not conceived such an Opinion of the following Discourses, as to think them to be in any great measure worthy of the publick View; being conscious that my Talent this way is inferiour to the usual performances of the same kind, which the present Age is happy in. And I verily believe they never had seen the Light, had it not been for a particular Reason, which I shall here declare. My Studies, for some Years last past, having been mostly taken up, in detecting the Errours of the Atheistick Philosophy, chiefly as they do oppose themselves to the Christian Religion in general; I did think it not amiss now and then, as it lay in my way, to discover the Poison of some of those Principles, which had been advanced likewise against the particular Doctrines thereof. This I have shewn, in one or two of the Discourses here Published; which were Wrote, when my Thoughts, being warm upon the Subject of Atheism, did frequently mix themselves with my other Composures.

Now in the first of these Sermons, I do oppose an Atheistical Opinion; which many Persons of late, out of a great Zeal to Liberty, have fell into, and that is, That Princes and all other kind of

## Introduction.

Governments owe their Rise and Authority to the People. This, I confess, I alwaies took to be a very wicked and mischievous Principle, and which might in time turn to the Destruction of our Government; and it being my chance to Preach last Year before a Great Auditory, I delivered this Sermon There: Hoping that if I could set this matter in a true Light, and persuade some Persons in Authority of the ilness of this Opinion, or provoke others of greater Abilities to prosecute this matter farther, I should do God Almighty and my Country some considerable Service by it.

But this Design was in a great measure frustrated by the Mistakes or Artifices of some, who in a warm Season, when Peoples Passions run high, did take Exception at this Doctrine, and at some other Matters, \* which in the Prosecution of my Subject, I laid down with an honest plainness, that I thought became my Profession.

This unwanted freedom upon so tender a Subject, could not pass, it seems, without giving offense to some Persons; and when once Men are displeased, it is natural to accuse and load.

'Tis to no purpose to take notice of the invidious Suggestions and unkind Reflections, which have been cast at me upon this account; for 'tis a comfort to suffer for doing ones Duty, and for Preaching the Apostles Doctrine, to meet with some

\* Sermon. I.  
Prop. 3.

## Introduction.

*some of their Treatment. However I shall not be discouraged from venturing upon this Subject once more; hoping that a Discourse of this Nature may find a better acceptance at one time than another, and that the World may be more kind Judges upon the view of this Matter themselves, than in the Colours which have been given it by others. But be this Event as God shall please; and this time as improper for inforcing the Doctrine of the Divine Right of our Governours as the former, yet I will still do my best, to root out of the World the opposite Atheistical Opinion; and do resolve, after the Apostles Rule, in season and out of season, to endeavour to effect it.*

*This I know is a ticklish string to touch upon, and a Doctrine something worn out of fashion of late, yet I will take heart once again to run a little contrary to the humour of the Age; and will say with good King David, If this be vile, I will yet be more vile.*

*All I have to say in relation to the Sermons here Published is, that I hope as they are plain they are honest; I am sure the Doctrine is such as I am authorized to Teach my Parish, and which I myself have learnt from two very good Books, my Bible and my Catechism. If some people don't like it, I am not the more out of conceit with it, for that reason; for I know they have disrelisht much better Compositions than these; and I cannot*

## Introduction.

*think my self obliged to invent new Topicks of Divinity, to please some Modern Palats. But to come to the Question I am to discuss.*

*I confess this Question, of the Divine Right of Princes, is not generally so well understood as it ought to be; and Men's thoughts are not so clear upon it as were to be wished, they often times confounding one part of the Dispute with the other; sometimes applying the Divine Right to the Origin of Government in general, and sometimes to God's being the Author only of Kingly Government in particular; sometimes to the Divine Authority lodged in Princes Hands, and other times to God's placing them upon the Throne; not making use of that due niceness and distinction which ought to be made between all these particulars. I shall therefore divide this Question into several distinct Conclusions, with relation to those different matters, and offer my Reasons for the support of each of them, to the best of my power.*

A  
DISSERTATION  
concerning the  
**Divine Right**  
OF  
PRINCES.

---

*Whether Princes are Jure  
Divino?*

NOW first I must take leave to  
premise what is meant by a  
*Jus Divinum*, or Divine Right.  
This Expression is taken from *Theolo-*  
*gical* Writers, and therefore the sense of  
it may be the better come at, by con-  
sidering how these Writers use it. A  
thing is said to be *Jure Divino*, or of  
Divine Right, I. Upon Account of  
A 4 its

## *The Duty of Inferiours*

its Original Invention, or its Declaration to the World by God ; as when God is pleased to reveal a thing, which Mankind otherways of themselves could not at all, or at least so easily have come to the knowledge of. And in this sense the Christian Religion is *Jure Divino* ; because it was the Divine Revelation, or Inspiration of Almighty God, which first made it known to Mankind. II. A thing may be *Jure Divino* by reason of its Institution, or the Authority by which it was enjoined, as when it has not only a Divine Original as to its Invention, but is set up by God and positively Commanded by him to be observed. Thus every Rule of our Holy Religion and particularly the two Sacraments are *Jure Divino*, because God has instituted them, and given his absolute Commands that they should be observed in his Church. III. *Jus Divinum* may be taken with respect to the Designation to an Office : And thus the Prophets under the Old Testament, and the Apostles under the New held those Offices *Jure Divino*, because they were particularly set out for those high Employments by God Almighty's immediate ap-

appointment, and because his Almighty Power did concur with them in the Discharge thereof.

Next I would premise one thing more, which is, That when I assert the *Divine right of Princes*, I do not understand the Word *Princes* in an *exclusive* Sense; so as if Monarchy were *only of Divine right*, and other specie, of Government were either unlawful, as being contrary to that form which God had *Solely* enjoined; or else they being meer human Inventions, that God took little notice of them in their Protection and Conservation. These are Opinions, which I am not in the least to answer for; and indeed I look upon them not only to be Ill-natur'd and Unmannerly, but highly Unreasonable. For it is very unkind so unhandfomly to condemn those brave States, which have made such a noble Figure in former Ages, and those which at this Day Flourish so eminently in the World. Neither can it with reason be thought, that God Almighty took no care of those Republicks, which in their times shined perhaps beyond any Monarchy that ever was. And tho' these Com-

*Monarchy not of Divine Right exclusively of other Forms.*

mon-

monwealths, as to their frame, are only the Model of human Wit; yet they were grounded upon those great Rules of Government which God Almighty first made known to the World, and gave Authority for the Exercise of them. So that every Form of Government tho' of a less regular kind, if it keeps unruly nature in any tolerable Order by those Rules and that Authority, which God has given to the World for that purpose; I say even that form of Government, tho' of never so Irregular a kind, I take in some measure at least, to be of *Divine Right*. This premised I lay down.

Conclusion

I.

*I. That the chief Rules of Government, which are exercised by Princes or any other Supreme Power, were not the Invention of the People, but were first made known to the World by Almighty God, and consequently are, as to their Inventions, of Divine Right; and the Persons, whether Princes or others, who dispence or exercise these Rules, which are of this Divine Original, have a Jus Divinum belongs to their Character.*

But

But before I proceed to the direct Proof of this Assertion, I will give a short account of the opposite Opinion to this; which is, of those who allow no kind of Government to have any other Original, than from the People. Their notion of this matter, in short, is this. After Mankind had for some time, or perhaps Ages, been Inhabitants of the Earth, they found the great Inconvenience, that living without any Polity exposed them to; they experienced the daily Miseries which fighting and quarrelling brought upon them, especially when they had among them no one who was endowed with sufficient Authority to compose their Differences; and therefore in process of time they agreed, in all places of the then Inhabited World, upon some kind of Government or other as liked them best, and so put themselves under some one Man, or number of Men, wiser or valianter than the rest, either Absolutely, or with some certain Conditions, to be their Judges and Defenders: and this was (they say) the Origin of all Government. Now this Opinion, tho' to the shame of this Age,

*The Atheistical Account of the Origin of Government.*  
it

it Obtains among a great number of Men who call themselves Christians, yet it is borrowed from the most Pestilent Atheists; and can be defended upon no other than Atheistical Principles. *Lucretius*, the great Champion of Irreligion, has exprest this matter as well as possible.

*Lucr. lib. 6.*

*Inde Magistratum partim decuere creare  
Furq; constituere, ut vellent legibus uti :  
Nam genus humanum defessum vi colere ævum,  
Ex inimiciis languebat ; quo magis ipsum  
Sponte suâ cecidit sub leges arctaq; Jura :  
Acrius ex irâ quod enim se quisq; parabat  
Ulcisci, quam nunc concessum est legibus æquis,  
Hanc ob remst' Homines pert.esum vi colere ævum.*

This made them seek for Laws; this led their choice  
To Rulers; Power was giv'n by Publick Voice;  
For Men, worn out and tired with constant Strife,  
At last began to wish an easie Life :  
And so submitted of their own accord,  
To rigid Laws, and their Elected Lord.  
For since each single Man led on by Rage,  
Grew Bloody in Revenge, and strove t'engage  
His Enemy, 'twas an unpleasant Age. }  
Hence Men grew weary of continual Wars.

*Mr. Creech.*

But to let you see how excellently good he is at the invention of these fine Hypotheses, he gives you an account in the next Page, of the Origin of Religion likewise. And this is a notable

ble stroke indeed ; I think beyond That concerning Government. It came to pass, as he tells us, by Peoples dreaming sometimes of great bigboned Men, who if they appeared with a handsom Head upon those great Shoulders, they were forsooth deemed Deities, and Worshipped accordingly.

*Egregias animo facies vigilante videbant,*

*Et magis in somnis mirando Corporis auctu, &c.*

Now is it not very pleasant, that an idle Fiction of an Atheistical Poet should in good earnest be taken up by those who pretend to Christianity ; and that these should ground their Obedience to Superiours, and the Peace and Welfare of their Country too, upon this Airy Bottom ? But however this Notion of the Origin of Government, silly enough as it is, is very consistent with *Lucretius's* Notions of the Rise of the World: For if all things come by Chance, without the Workmanship or Wisdom of God, and Men sprung out of the Ground like Pumpkins at first, and lived without any Care of the Deity over them afterwards. It is natural enough to think, that they beat  
and

and bang'd, and knock'd one anothers Brains out, till they had formed themselves into some Society or other, for their mutual Security. But for us Christians, who believe, that all things were made by a Wise and Gracious God, and whose Providence does continually watch over us ; who have the History of the Origin of Mankind delivered to us by an infallible Authority, and which does assure us that we are all deriyed from one common Stock, and that Men always lived under some Laws prescribed by God, and were never under such a loose and barbarous Anarchy, as the Atheists suppose. It is strangely inconsistent, I say, with our Principles to retain this sort of Notions, which are perfectly inconsistent with our Belief of the Holy Scriptures.

Having explained the Opinion of those, who deduce the Origin of Government from the People, I will bring some Arguments to prove, that it had its Original immediately from God.

IT is very reasonable to suppose, that *Arg. I.*  
 God Almighty did in the beginning of *Rules of*  
 the World instruct our first Parents in *Government re-*  
 the most necessary Rules of Govern- *vealed by.*  
 ment; because he did in those times *God; be-*  
 so frequently converse with them, in *cause of*  
 order to give them the most necessa- *God's fre-*  
 ry Instructions upon their Settlement in *quent ma-*  
 the New World; of which the Rules *nifestations*  
 of Government should seem to be some *to Man*  
 of the most principal. Now we read,  
 that God, or his representing Angel,  
 frequently conversed not only with  
*Adam* and *Eve*, in the Garden before  
 the Fall, *Gen. 3. 9.* but after it even  
 with *Cain*, *Gen. 4. 6.* This Divine Cor-  
 respondence with Mankind, was con-  
 tinued not only to the days of *Noah*,  
*Gen. 9. 8.* but even to the times of  
 the Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Gen. 12. 1.*  
*Isaac*, *Gen. 26. 2.* and *Jacob*, *Gen. 28.*  
*13.* Now it is but natural to suppose,  
 that in this frequent Converse with An-  
 gels, that they had their Minds in-  
 formed with some very great and im-  
 portant Truths; for it is not easie to  
 imagine, that their Conversation was  
 taken up with vain and trivial Talk;  
 for that would be a thing unbecoming  
 wise

wise Men, and much more would be beneath the exalted Reason of Angels. So that since the Subject of their Conferences must have been chiefly upon great and necessary Matters, it must follow, That (after Religion) Government was the first and most principal point, which would offer it self for them to be instructed in. And 'tis absurd to suppose, that a good and gracious God would leave them and their Posterity for several Generations to live in Anarchial Ravage and Confusion, till their intolerable Sufferings in this wild State had forced them to look out for the benefits of Government, when a little share of the daily Conversation he admitted them to, would have delivered them from all these inconveniences.

*Arg. 2.* God did inform Primitive Mankind in the Rules of Government; because *Because he took care of your lesser Concerns, viz. Clothing, &c.* he condescended to inform them in matters of far less consequence. For the Scriptures record, how God instructed them so much as in the making of their Cloaths, to defend their tender Bodies from the piercing Colds of the Nights and Winters. *Unto Adam*

Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them, Gen. 3. 21. Now if the Divine Goodness was pleased to make so low a stoop as to assist them in the very making of their Apparel, it is not unnatural to suppose, that he did not omit informing them, how their Off-spring should be governed; which to be sure was not a matter of less importance: For certainly nothing (excepting Religion only, which is to instruct Men in the Worship of God) can be so worthy of the Divine Information and Guidance as the Government of Nations is; upon which the Peace and Welfare of such a number of People does depend. And it can never be thought that the merciful Goodness of God, which took so special a care of Mankind in other matters, would leave them for lack of so useful a convenience, subject to so many fatal Miseries.

Indeed it is a dream of the *Epicurean* Atkristi-  
Philosophy, that Men did not enjoy the cal Ac-  
ordinary benefits of Life, which proceed count of  
from the most useful Inventions; till the first  
after many Ages some lucky hint or Ages.  
other did first give an insight into  
them

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them. And *Lucretius* is mistaken when he says,

*Multaq; per cælum solis volventia Lustra  
 Volgivago vitam tractabant more ferarum:  
 Nec robustus erat curvi moderator aratri,  
 Quisqam nec scibat ferro mollirier arva;  
 Nec nova defodere in terram virgulta, nec altis  
 Arboribus veteres percidere falcibus ramos:  
 Quod sol atq; imbres dederant, quod terra creârat  
 Sponte suâ, satis id placabat pectora donum:  
 Nec dum res igni scibant tractare, nec uti  
 Pellibus, & spoliis Corpus vestire ferarum:  
 Nec commune bonum poterant spectare, nec ullis  
 Moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti  
 Quod cuiq; obtigerat prædæ fortuna, ferebat  
 Sponte suâ, sibi quisq; valere & vivere doctus.*

Like Beasts they lay in every Wood and Cave,  
 Gath'ring the easie Food which Nature gave.  
 No impious Ploughman yet had learnt to tear  
 His Parents Bowels with the crooked Share.  
 None planted fruitful Trees, none drest the Vine;  
 Nor prun'd decaying Boughs, nor prest for Wine;  
 Contented they with the poor easie store,  
 That Sun and Earth bestowed. they wisht no more.  
 They knew no use of Fire to drest their Food,  
 Nor cloth'd with Skins, yet wander'd thro the Wood.  
 No fixt Society, no steddy Laws,  
 No publick Good was sought, no common Cause;  
 But all of War, each rang'd, each sought his Food,  
 By nature taught nothing but private good.

Mr. Creech.

Here is fine Verse, 'tis true, and cu-  
 rious Fancy, but nothing to engage a  
 wife

wife Man's Belief, more than is in the story of *Baucis* and *Philemon*. But to wave that point now ; however it is downright contradiction to the holy Scriptures, and that is enough to make every good Christian to reject it. For from thence we are informed, that Mankind did not come by these dull degrees to the enjoyment of these ordinary Conveniences ; but God Almighty did contrive to put them in an easie condition of Life immediately, and tho they did not partake of the benefits of all the noble Arts which we do now , yet he was pleased to make known to them the use of those, without which there was no tolerable Living at all. For the Scriptures do expressly assert, that the earliest of all Mankind were instructed by God not only *Pellisbus uti*, as this Poet calls it, but that they were likewise *Keepers of Sheep*, and *Tillers of the Ground*, Gen. 4. 2. And tho by the Text we are not expressly informed that God immediately shewed them these Arts, as he did the use of Cloaths, yet it is to the highest degree probable, that he did, because these are not more easie to be found out than the other : And if God

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Almighty was pleased to take upon him to instruct our Primitive Parents in all these vulgar Arts, he may be well enough supposed likewise to inform them, to use *Lucretius's* Phrase, *Commune Bonum spectare Moribus scire*, and *Legibus uti*: which most certainly were altogether as beneficial to them.

*Arg. 3.* God Almighty did reveal at first the Rules of Government to Mankind; because he did reveal the Rules of Religion, there being equal Reasons for his Revelation of both. That our first Parents were instructed by Almighty God in matter of Religion, is a thing out of dispute to any one who considers that the Celebration of Sacrifices, which either does or did obtain in all places of the Habitable World, and therefore could not have come into so universal an Use, unless it had been handed down to them by the Universal Parents of Mankind, and is in it self, simply considered, so uncouth a way of Worshipping the Deity, that it could never have entered into their thoughts at first, unless for wise Reasons, it had been commended by Almighty

*God Author of Government; because he revealed Religion.*

mighty God. And when *Moses's* Hi-<sup>Vid. Con-</sup>story informs us, that one of the first<sup>ference</sup> things which *Cain* and *Abel* did, was<sup>with a</sup> to offer Sacrifice to God; it cannot<sup>Theist.</sup> be thought how it should come into their minds to think this action acceptable unto God, unless he had declared unto them that it was so. And it is not less reasonable to think, that in the Infancy of the Worlds Age, God moved by the same gracious Goodness, did inform them concerning the Moral Duties of Religion likewise, it being too tedious a work for them, to be left to form out all those Moral Rules by Rational Deductions; and it not being likely that these Notions would retain so uniform an agreement as they do in all parts of the World, if it had been only the product of Mens natural Reasoning. Now if the Parts of Religion were first revealed to them by Almighty God, it cannot easily be thought, why they should not have the like instructions given them as to Government. For those repeated Conferences with the holy Angels which they were honoured with, cannot be supposed to be wholly taken up in matters of Religion, the parts thereof be-

ing not so numerous, as to possess all those spaces of time which were allotted to those Angelick Colloquies. Now if God Almighty did think fit to reveal both the Ceremonial and Moral parts of Religion, he must answerably to that design reveal the Rules of Government likewise, as will appear by these following Considerations.

*Government as necessary for Man as Religion.*

I. Because Government seems as absolutely necessary for the well-being of Man, as Religion it self. Indeed if it had happened that mankind had continued in its Primitive Rectitude, and had not fell into this lapsed condition, these Rules might not have been so absolutely necessary, when the natural Strength of their Reason and vacancy from Passions might have given them such a tendency to good, that they could have fulfilled the Will of God with the greatest readiness and facility ; tho for order sake, some kind of Government or other had been convenient, if it were but such an one as the Hierarchy of Angels. But under the unhappy Circumstances in which mankind has stood since the Fall ; when their reason is weak, and  
their

passions stubborn, when they are subject to all the Insults and Injuries which their fellow Creatures are wont to offer to them ; Government is as absolutely necessary for their well-being in this World, as Religion is for that of the next.

2. The Rules of Government are as difficult to be lighted upon, and would have been as tedious in finding out as the Duties of Religion. It would have been indeed a laborious Task for mankind at first to have found out the Moral Obliquity of Fraud and Adultery, Incest and Falshood, and established them upon the same Foot we find them now all over the World, having no other Guide to direct them but their own Natural Reason, which would be apt to lead them aside in a hundred particulars. And if God Almighty did think fit to give them a Scheme of Moral Duties at first (as the Scriptures seem to assert, *Gen. 4. 2. cap. 9. Mat. 19. 8.* and the difficulty of finding them out at first, with the general Uniformity of them, do evince) then it cannot be supposed but that his gracious Goodness was as ready to

*As difficult to be found out.*

reveal the Rules of Government, which mankind must a great while have lived miserably without.

*It is a  
part of Re-  
ligion.*

3. Because most of the Rules of Government are a Part of Religion. Men are commanded not to Steal, or Lye, or Blaspheme God's Name, or commit Adultery, as well by the Laws of a Country, as by Religion; and the Prohibitions and Commands in both of them, run so jointly hand in hand, as to all particulars, that 'tis apparent they not only had the same Original Author, but, like Twins, they came both into the World at the same time.

*Govern-  
ment ne-  
cessary to  
keep up  
Religion.*

4. Because it is necessary that there should be Government for the keeping up of Religion. Upon supposition that God did reveal either Ceremonial or Moral Religion at the beginning, he must at the same time have set up Government likewise; because without Government the Parts of Religion could not be exercised.

Suppose he revealed Sacrifice, (as he certainly did) and declared That to be an acceptable way of Worship-  
ping

ping him. There must be some one to preside in these Sacrifices, who must take care to settle the Time and Place of them, and that they should be celebrated according to the form prescribed by God; and who must have farther a coercive Power to make Persons diligently attend and devoutly behave themselves at them; and that no Thief, Adulterer, Lyar, &c. should be admitted. If this Person had no other Power to restrain these Crimes but a *Procul ite Profani*, even this would be a sort of Government, and perhaps not very different from the Primitive one. For 'tis plain, that in the most antient Times the Priesthood and the Government were joined together. This appears from the History of *Melchizedeck*, *Gen. 14. 18.* who was King of *Salem*, and also Priest of the most High God. So *Virgil* in that most famous place of his *Æneids*, *lib. 3.* makes King *Anius* a Priest likewise, in imitation of Antiquity. And *Aristotle* in his Book of *Politicks*, *lib. 3.* says, *μία μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὰς Ἡρωικὰς χρόνας*, &c. There was one sort of Government which obtained about the Heroical times, in which the King was both

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both General and Judge , as also  
 τῶν πρὸς τὰς θεὰς κρείττον Chief Priest or Go-  
 vernour in sacred Matters. *Vid. Plat.*  
*Dial. de Regno.*

*Arg. 4.* These Rules of Government seem  
 Gods  
 Speech to  
 Cain, Gen. 4. 7. to be revealed to *Adam* before *Cain's*  
 Murder of his Brother, from a passage  
 in *Genesis*, cap. 4. v. 7. *And the Lord*  
*said unto Cain, if thou dost well, shalt*  
*thou not be accepted? but if thou dost*  
*evil, Sin, that is Punishment, lieth at*  
*the door.* For the Hebrew Words *Clataah*  
*and Gnavon* signifie Punishment,  
 as well as Sin. *They shall bear their*  
*sin* ( that is, their Punishment ) *they*  
*shall be childless*, Lev. 20. 21. *If we tar-*  
*ry till morning light, some Sin, that is,*  
*Mischief, will come upon us*, 2 *King.*  
*7. 9. This shall be the Sin of Egypt, and*  
*the Sin of all Nations, (i.e.) Punish-*  
*ment, Zach. 14. 19.*

Now Punishment has not only a  
 necessary relation to some Law , of  
 which it is the sanction, but does sup-  
 pose some Governour who has the  
 power of inflicting it. This cannot  
 reasonably be said to be understood of  
 the eternal Punishment of another Life,  
 for those threats do properly belong to  
 the

the Gospel. Therefore it should seem rather to refer to some punishment which God had ordered in the *Adamical*, or *Ante Diluvian* Law, to be inflicted upon such and such Transgressors.

It is an Argument that the Rules of Government were first revealed by God *Arg. 5.* Almighty ; because the Heathens had *And the Antient Tradition of the Heathens.* such a notion among them. It is a famous Story among the Poets , that in the Golden Age, which was in the beginning of the World, the Goddess *Astrea* did converse daily with Mortals upon Earth, and teach them not only Piety and Religion, but also the Rules of Government.

*Δημοίεργς ἤειδεν ἐπιστέρχου δέμους.*

*Her Songs excited them to gentle Laws.*

But by the way ; some Republican Critick or other, may be angry with me for not Translating *Δημοίεργς* Popular or Democratical, but the Scholiast will bear me out in this, who interprets *Δημοίεργς*, *πραΐας καὶ ἐν τρυφῇ* Mild and not Tyrannical.

So

## *The Duty of Inferiours*

So in that famous Apologue of *Plato* concerning *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*; after Men had been formed as to their outward Shapes and sensitive Souls, and had further received Wisdom from *Pallas*, yet that did not suffice for Government among them, till *Jupiter* had sent Justice to them. And 'tis a known Point, that most of the antient Nations had a Tradition, that their Laws and Government did proceed from their Gods: Thus the Latins derive theirs from *Janus* or *Saturn*, the Grecians from *Ceres*, the *Ægyptians* from *Osiris* and *Isis*.

*That Princes and all other Supreme*  
*Conclus.* *Governours do receive that Authority by*  
 II. *which they Govern their People, from*  
*Almighty God; upon that account ex-*  
*ercising their Office by a Divine Right;*  
*and therefore do not receive (as some*  
*pretend) the Right and Authority of their*  
*Office originally from the People.*

Now the Truth of this Proposition will sufficiently appear, I think, by the force of the following Arguments.

1. Because

1. Because this is the plain and express Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures. *Arg. 1.*  
 The wise Man declares this to us, as *Gover-*  
 an indisputable Point of God's Prero- *nours Au-*  
 gative here on Earth. *By me Kings* *thority*  
*reign, and Law-givers, or Princes, de-* *from God,*  
*creed justice,* Prov. 8. 15. Which words *proved by*  
 are spoke in the name of the Eternal *Scripture.*  
 Wisdom or *Logos* of God, the second  
 Person of the Blessed Trinity, which  
 was called by the *Jews* by the name  
 of Wisdom. For this Wisdom which  
 is so much celebrated in the begin-  
 ning of the Book of *Proverbs*, is by  
 the antient Fathers interpreted to be  
 Christ, the *Logos* or Wisdom of God,  
 which is very God. Now 'tis ordi-  
 nary in Scripture to attribute the Go-  
 vernment of the World to Christ, or  
 the second Person of the Trinity. And  
 therefore he is called, *Rev. 15. Prince*  
*of the Kings of the Earth.* He is like-  
 wise described to have written on his  
 Thigh *King of Kings, and Lord of*  
*Lords,* *Rev. 19. 16.* So he is said to  
 be *set over the work of his Fathers hands,*  
 and to have *all things put in subjection*  
*under his Feet,* *Heb. 2. 7, 8.* And that  
*all power is given him in Heaven and*  
*in*

*The Duty of Inferiours*

*in Earth*, Mat. 28. 16. From whence it follows, that since Christ is not only the Head of the Church, but absolute Monarch of the whole Earth, all Princes and Governments are depending upon him, and can have no Authority but what he does allot them: Not that Christ hath constituted any Person here upon Earth, to execute his Power over all Princes and Governments, as the Vicar or Vicegerent, as the Papists pretend, but that our Blessed Saviour, by some invisible Methods, does manage all the Secular Powers of this World, as may be best subservient to the Ends of his Eternal Kingdom. So that I say the Government of Nations is but an Appendage of Christ's Regal Office, which the People can claim no manner of Right to dispose of, unless in some cases they are made his Instruments, and overruled by Christ's Sovereign Power, which extends even to the Government of Men's Hearts and Affections; and, in good Truth, the People may as well pretend to a Power of raising up the Bodies of the Dead at the last Day, or any other Branch of Christ's Regal Authority,

as to claim an Original Right of constituting Governments to be lodged in them.

We learn farther from the Book of *Psalms*, that God Almighty did particularly interpose his Divine Providence in the Alteration of Governments and disposal of Crowns. *Promotion cometh neither from the East nor the West, nor yet from the South; but God is the Judge, he putteth down one and setteth up another, Psal. 75. 67.*

And there is a very remarkable Passage in the 44th Chapter of *Isaiah*, v. 28. where God calls *Cyrus* the great *Persian* Monarch, his Shepherd, that is, one whom he had made his ποιμένα λαου to use *Homer's* Phrase, to feed the People committed to his charge. *That saith of Cyrus he is my Shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure.* And what is more remarkable, in the next verse the Prophet declares, *Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, &c.* Now if God Almighty does vouchsafe to call a Heathen Prince, as *Cyrus* was, his Anointed, this may well serve for a check to those Irreligious Jesters, who have used of late to make a sport with this  
com-

compellation, when it is applied even to Christian Princes.

This Doctrine is farther confirmed by the Approbation and Testimony of the Writers of the New Testament. The Apostle St. *Paul* in his famous Chapter of the 13th to the *Romans*, does expresse lay down, *That there is no Power but of God, and that the Powers that be are ordained of God.* Rom. 13.1. and verse the fourth, he calls the supreme Power the *Minister of God*. Now by being *ordained by God*, can be understood nothing else but to Rule by his Authority, and by being God's Minister is declared, that the supreme Governour of a Nation is God's Vicergerent, and does Govern a People by vertue of an Authority which God as Supreme Governour of the World has given him over them. As an Embassadour to a Foreign Prince, or the Lieutenant of a Province, is said to be ordained to that Office, or Commissioned to it by the King, or to be the King's *Minister*, so is every supreme Governour of a Nation in the same manner said to be the Commissioner or Minister of Almighty God. All this is so plain, that to Men who believe their Bibles, nothing more need be added in confirmation of it. And

Another Argument that the Au- *Arg. 2.*  
 thority which Governours have over *Gover-*  
 their People does proceed from Al- *nours from*  
 mighty God, is, because the Laws *God, be-*  
 which they enjoin and exact Obedi- *cause their*  
 ence to, do oblige the Conscience; *Laws ob-*  
 which nothing but that which proceeds *lige the*  
 from God can do. Now that the Laws *Conscience*  
 of human Governours do oblige the  
 Conscience, is the exprefs Doctrin of  
 the Scriptures: *Wherefore ye must be*  
*subject not only for Wrath, but also for*  
*Conscience sake, Rom. 13. 5.* That is,  
 you must not only be Obedient to hu-  
 man Laws, for fear of the Temporal  
 Penalty which they do denounce, but  
 for fear of the Punishment which God  
 may inflict for the contempt of them,  
 whose Authority by the violation of  
 these you despise, and whose anger your  
 Consciences make you stand in dread of  
*And be ye subject to every ordinance of man*  
*for the Lords sake, 1 Pet. 2. 13.* That is,  
 God Almighty does expect an Obe-  
 dience to human Laws; as well as to  
 Divine, and that no one can be a good  
 Christian and a Servant of Jesus Christ;  
 without the observance of the former  
 as well as the latter. And natural  
 Reason

Reason dictates the same thing: For unless there were a conscientious regard to had unto human Constitutions, and the regular Commands of our Superiours, no Government could be safe any longer than the dread of severe Laws forced Men to a subjection; but whenever these could be evaded by subtilty, or master'd by force, Men might without any fault trample upon them and the Constitution they live under, or utterly destroy them at their pleasure. Now if this be so, as none but down-right Atheists can deny, then it follows, that God Almighty must originally give Authority to these Laws and Commands of Governours; because nothing can oblige the Conscience but what proceeds Authoritatively from God. *There is one Law-giver who is able to save and to destroy, Jam. 4. 12. Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell, Mat. 10. 28.* This is the Doctrine of the Scripture, and indeed of all Men who believe the Providence of God and a future State; for whosoever believes that God will punish wicked Actions, has a Conscience

science to be afraid of the vengeance of such a just God, and this Conscience will be afraid of no one else but God, because no one else but he can punish in another World. Now if Conscience be afraid of no one but God, nothing can oblige the Conscience but what has received Authority from God ; but we have proved that the Laws and Legal Injunctions of Governours do oblige the Conscience, therefore they must be Authorized or receive their Original Authority from God.

*But it may be Objected, That human* *Obj.*  
*Pacts and Agreements do oblige the Con-*  
*science, and yet these cannot properly be*  
*said to receive their Obligation from a*  
*Divine Authority.*

Human Pacts and Agreements, *Ans.*  
have no obligation upon the Consci- *Contracts*  
ence; but as the Law of God does bind *bind only*  
it upon Men's Consciences, to stand *by God's*  
to the Agreements they have made. *Authority.*  
Now the *Law of Nature*, which obliges  
Men to observe Contracts, is the Law  
of God ; and therefore Men's Consci-  
ences all over the World upbraid them,  
whensoever they violate them ; not

*A heifts  
c . . have  
n Consci-  
en e or  
Sincerity.*

fo much upon reflexion that they have acted contrary to the rules of right reason, but because they have disobeyed the Will of an All-Powerful Being, who they are afraid will some time or other punish them for it. But to those Men who do not believe any Divine Authority, obliging Men to the Rules of Justice and Equity, there can be no such thing as Conscience; for such Men's actions can be sway'd by the rules only of Self-Preservation and Decency, and when these do not come into the Scale, no other Considerations can work upon them. For if human Society were made up only of Atheistical Men, who either denied a God or his Providence, altho they might be a great number of imprudent or silly Men, there could be no such thing, in their opinion, as Villain in the World. Several Men indeed would be reputed to act very imprudently, by committing Fraud or Oppression, or other Injustice, by which they exposed themselves to the Axes of the *Leviathan*, and contributed as much as in them lay, to deprive themselves of the benefits of Government, and bring themselves back again into the miseries of the Primi-

Primitive Anarchy and state of War : But this could not be, according to them, Wickedness or Villany, which supposes Men acting against their Consciences, and the express Will of a just and powerful God. But these Men can ravish Virgins, burn Churches, poison Parents, stab Judges, and assassinate Princes, with as little check of Conscience as they sit down to their ordinary Meals. For tho there may appear to be in these Actions some disformity to natural Reason, as they are simply considered ; yet such Men's Reasons tell them, that the great benefit which may accrew from these Actions particularly to themselves, will weigh down the hazzard they venture in the common benefit of Society ; and that since they are to fear no reckoning in another World, the pleasure or profit of such bold Actions, when successful, will countervail the contempt or danger they sometimes meet with all in this Life. And here by the way, I cannot but admire the goodness of the Christian Religion, which inspires the Legislatures, where it obtains, with so much mercy and patience, as to let such Pests to Society, as Men of

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these

these Principles are, to continue and live among them; which otherwise would be destroyed like Wolves and Bears, or hunted out to live by themselves in Defarts.

*Arg. 3.*

*Gover-  
nours not  
from the  
People, as  
having  
Power of  
Life and  
Death.*

The Authority which Supreme Magistrates have, was originally derived from Almighty God, and not from the People; because they are vested with the Power of Life and Death, which the People could never have a right to confer.

It is an undoubted Maxim, *Nothing can give that to another which it hath not in its self.* Now since the Su-

preme Government hath the Power of Life and Death, and the People have not that Power in themselves, it follows, that he who doth confer that Power, must have a superiour Power to that of the People, and consequently must be God, who is the sole Lord and Proprietor over the Lives of Men. Therefore it cannot be supposed, that the People should lawfully give the Magistrate the Power over their own Lives, which is a power that they themselves cannot lay claim to: For if a Man had a lawful Power over his own Life, he might take it away  
with

with his own hands when he pleased, or might expose it causlessly to eminent Danger, without sin; which is a contradiction to our Religion and the most common Reason of Mankind. If therefore we suppose that Government came from the People, it must be presumed, that the People having once a Power over their own Lives, did sometime or other meet together and make this over to the supreme Magistrate, in order to the Publick Peace, and so by this means vested him with the Power of Life and Death. Now this supposes that every man had a Power over his own Life, at least till he made it over to the Magistrate, and might before that time have laid violent Hands upon himself if he had pleased. So that in short, Self-Murder, and the notion of Governments being founded originally in the People, are bottom'd upon the same Foot, and if one be unlawful, the other cannot be true; or which is the same, if Men have not a Power over their own Lives, as all good Christians maintain, they could never transfer this to the Magistrate, and consequently he has not his Authority or Right

of Life and Death from the People.

This Argument is Demonstration to them, who think Self-Murder unlawful, as, God be thanked, the greatest part of the Age do, notwithstanding the poisoned Principles which are continually advanced among us. But however to avoid the force of it, some Persons both formerly and of late, have endeavoured to make some kind of return to it, some have denied the Truth of the Supposition it is grounded upon, *viz. That it is unlawful to Kill ones self*; and others allow, that Men may dispose of their Lives for the Publick Good, as the *Decii* devoted themselves for their Country, and Christ laid down his Life for mankind; and some others would prove this, from Men's lawfully venturing themselves in just Wars. But these Objections are not very considerable, and they are sufficiently confuted by Dr. *Hammond*, in his Vindication of his *Address*, in Answer to *Eutaëtus Philodemius*, and to *Goodwin's* *ſceniſina*. But there is one Objection againſt this Argument which looks more ſpecious than

than the rest, or at least is more of a piece with the Atheistical Grounds upon which this Opinion is bottom'd; and that is this.

*Altho it should be granted that a man has not a Power over his own Life, yet he has a right of Defending it, whenever it is assaulted by any unjust Aggressor: And if this can be defended no other way, it may be preserved by taking away the Life of the Assaulter; which in such a case, at least, a man has a right over. Now upon this Supposition, and in these Circumstances, I have a right over every Man's Life, as every Man has the like over mine. Therefore if we shall agree together to transfer this Natural Right of Vindication to an indifferent Person, who is to defend us all in case of an Aggression, we only give him the power we have over Men's Lives in such case, and not directly a power over our own.* Obj.

This Argument is not conclusive *Ans.* upon several accounts.

1. Because this supposes a State of Nature, in which Men lived before they were under any Government; *Answer to the Objection of Self-Defence.* which

which supposition is not by any means to be proved, but is only the false Conjecture of Atheistical Wits, and which is contrary not only to natural Reason, but also to the holy Scriptures, which give an account of Mankind always under some Government or other.

2. This power of Self-Defense, in case of such Aggression, is a thing so Personal, that it cannot be transfer'd to any one else. It is a power which as it can have no effect but only in the extraordinary case of fresh Aggression, and in the very act thereof; so it cannot be made over to any one else, unless such deputation be formerly made, when the violence of the Aggressor has begun to exert it self, and then too it will cease as soon as the danger is removed, and can extend to no one besides.

3. In this supposition Men do not only transfer the Self-Defensive Power, but do directly give to their Governour a right over their own Lives. For in this case they do suppose, that they themselves may be Aggressors,  
and

and then they directly give their Governour leave to kill them, if he pleases; which is more than they have Authority of themselves to grant.

4. This supposition will hold only in case of a dangerous Assault, when my life is in great hazzard; but the Governour has a power over Men's Lives in other cases. In the case of Theft, or Perjury, or any other crime, which he shall judge conducing to the publick Good, to punish with Death. Now tho it should be lawful to kill another Man in defence of my own Life, or to make over this right of Defence to a Publick Person, yet I cannot lawfully delegate a Power to him to take away a Man's Life for stealing any thing to the value of Ten-pence, or for clipping a piece of Publick Silver, or the like; because this is not as the supposition puts it, for the Defence of my Life.

5. If Men should grant such a Power to the Governours, in order to defend their Lives, this would not oblige them to stand to this Agreement, when the Governour either through  
his

his oppression, or their demerit, should go to take away their Lives. For Men entered into such a Government to protect their Lives, which now they find they are like to lose by it. And every Man's Life is dearer to him than the Benefits of Government, and the wisest course which a man in this condition could take, was to repent of a foolish Bargain, and if possibly he could avoid it, not to stand to it. For if the Governour has not a greater Authority, than that which I or my equals give him, when he exercises this Authority against my Life. I must take upon me to controule it as well as I can; for I can never be supposed to be obliged to be content not to live at all, for the sake of Government, which I enter'd into only to live easily under. Now this is contrary to all Men's Notions of Government, who make the supreme Power wherever it is lodged absolute and uncontrolable, and which every man is bound even in the hardest cases to obey.

If it be said, that there happens the same thing in the case of War, when  
Men

Men expose themselves to be killed by the Enemy, for the sake of their Country, or for their mutual Defense and Well-being. I answer, Men do this as being Authorized thereunto by the Laws of their Country, which are founded upon God's Authority, that has antecedently granted them a Power over Men's Lives; and therefore may dispose of them, in what just ways they judge convenient, for the publick Peace.

*But 'tis Objected farther, for the Authority of Governours being derived from the People, That the Apostle calls Government, The Ordinance of Man, 1 Pet. 2. 13. which he would not have done, if it had solely received its Authority from God.*

'Tis a mistake to think, that by the Ordinance of Man here is understood, Governments receive their Authority from Man; for the words cannot with any reason be made to imply so much.

*ὑποτάγεται ἐν παντι κτίσει ἀνθρωπίνῃ διὰ Κύριον.*

Now the question is, what may be the sense of the Words *κτίσει ἀνθρωπίνῃ*.

The word *κτίσις* signifies *Creation, Constitution,*

*stitution, Ordination, &c.* and ἀνθρώπινον signifies *of or belonging to Man*. So that there is not much difficulty as to the word κλῆσις, nor to the general Scope of the Precept, which is to be obedient to the Laws, Power, or Constitutions of Governours: But in what sense such Power or Ordinance is called ἀνθρώπινον is not so easie to determine. The word ἀνθρώπινον is a Relative Adjective, and may denote all manner of Relations, which Laws or the Authority of Governours do bear to Men. It may signifie such Ordinances as are either enacted or executed *by Men*, which are made for the good of *Men*, or which take place only in this World among mortal *Men*, as well as which receive their Authority from Men. Now no one in Wisdom ought to ground an opinion of so great a consequence upon the sense of a Word of so very doubtful a Signification, especially when the Doctrine of Scripture in other places is directly contrary to such Interpretation. For how can the Authority of Governours proceed originally from Man, if what St. Paul says be true, *There is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God.*

The

The meaning of St. *Paul* is exprefs and clear, but this interpretation which they would put upon St. *Peter*, doubtful and dark: Therefore in all reason the words of St. *Peter* being more obfcure, ought to be fo explained as to agree with the manifelt Doctrine of the other Apoftle.

But not to dwell much longer upon this objection. I take *Ἀνθρώπινον* here to be oppofed to *πνευμαλικός*, fo that every Ordinance of Man does fignifie human or fecular Ordinances, made by temporal, and, as they were at that time, heathen Governours, and does denote the fame thing as *κατὰ σάρκα*, Eph. 6. 5. *Obey your Masters according to the flefh* (i. e.) your Temporal and Heathen Masters. And fo St. *Peter* himfelf in another place ufeth the like phrafe, viz. *καθ' ἀνθρώπων*. *That they might be judged according to Men in the flefh, but live according to God in the Spirit*, 1 Pet. 4. 6. Now the Apoftle does more particularly prefs the Doctrine of being Obedient to human Ordinances, becaufe there was an opinion, which was got into the heads of fome fpurious Chriftians, about the Apoftolical times, derived from the Jewish Notion of a Temporal

*Clem. A. lex. Strom. lib. 4. St. Aug. in psal. 118. Conc. 31.*

ral *Messias*, viz. That the Gospel was to destroy all human Politics and secular Governments; which made them very loose in paying Obedience towards them; and therefore St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, by their Doctrine of Obedience to Civil, tho' Heathen Magistrates, endeavour to overthrow these mischievous Opinions.

Obj. 3. *The People do confer the Authority which Governours exercise; because their Consent is necessary for every lawful Government: For all Government without consent of the People, is Tyrannical and unlawful. Now if the consent of the People be necessary to make a lawful Government, they do confer that lawful Authority which such Government is vested with.*

*Ans.* Men do very often run into mistakes upon this subject, for want of rightly distinguishing between the Authority and the Consent of the People. It cannot, I think, with reason be denied, but that the consent of the People is requisite in some measure for making every Government lawful. For to govern a People by an absolute despotick

Spotick Power, which the People never consented to at first, and which they universally hate and groan under, and would deliver themselves from at any expence, whenever they had opportunity for it. This is downright Tyranny, and cannot be Lawful, unless the Person was immediately commissioned thereunto by Almighty God. But such Governments which are without any manner of popular Consent, are very rare, and cannot continue long. For as for conquering Princes, which come in for the most part with the disgust of the Nations, yet the People do for the generality give their consent to their Government, rather than suffer the utmost Extremities which the fate of War has made them subject to. Nor can this be well extended to the Heirs in an Hereditary Monarchy, who may happen sometimes to fall under popular Odium, when the Laws of that Country do allow them to succeed; for the People have given their consent antecedently to those Laws which allow their succession.

And as this Consent of the People is true as to Governours, so it is to the Laws which they enact; which can-

*Vid. Sanderson de  
Oblig. Con-  
scientia.  
Prælectio 7.  
not Dub. 2.*

not oblige them unless they give their Voices, either by themselves or their Representatives, in the making them, or consent to live under the Government by which they were formerly Enacted, or agree to them by a general conformity; for a Law generally disowned, or universally neglected, is no Law. These matters I think are pretty well agreed upon on all sides.

But, I say, tho all this be true, yet it does not follow from this Consent of the People, that they give an Original Authority, either to the Governour or to the Laws. For the Authority of these Laws and Governours does proceed primarily from God Almighty, tho their consent is requisite to make it operate upon them. This looks very plain in another case. The Christian Religion received its Authority from Almighty God, but yet it can't make Men Christians without their own consent. For the *Indians* which the *Spaniards* lashed down in shoals to the Rivers of *Peru*, to be Baptized, came out of the water as much Heathens as they went in. Indeed God Almighty, if he had pleased, might have

have propagated the Gospel by an irresistible Method, and forced Men in all corners of the Earth to the embracing it, contrary to their wills and inclinations: But to take it as it is at present, its Institution is as much by Divine Authority, as it would have been then. But God in his Wisdom does think it fitter, to let his holy Spirit cooperate with Men's consent and endeavours, rather than to over-rule them by an irresistible Power; which they have no part in. In like manner it seems good to his infinite Wisdom, to suffer Men to enjoy the satisfaction of falling in with their own proper Consent in their Obedience to their Governours, who under him do administer the Affairs of this World; tho; if he had pleased, he might have forced their compliance to them whether they would or no; but yet it has seemed more agreeable to his Wisdom, to establish all Governments by his Sovereign Authority, tho at the same time he gives Nations the liberty of their Consents concurring with it.

*Princes and other Supreme Governours Concl.  
are of Divine Right, as they are designed III*

*to their Offices, as they are preserved and assisted in them, by particular Acts of the Divine Providence.*

*Arg. 1.* The first Argument to prove this Assertion, may be drawn from Holy Scripture, which does almost every where set forth this Doctrine. (1.) We are taught from thence, that the *Revolutions of Government*, and great Alterations in States, come to pass by the Interposition of Almighty God. *At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it, &c. At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation and concerning a Kingdom, to build and to plant it.* Jer. 18. 7, 8. &c. (2.) The same Holy Scriptures inform us, that God does particularly concern himself in the *disposal of Crowns and Governments*. *God putteth down one and setteth up another,* Psal. 75. 6, 7. So God is said to have *rent the Kingdom from Saul and to give it to David,* 1 Sam. 15. 8. And lest this should be thought to be understood only of a *Jewish Prince*, set up particularly by God by a manifest Designation, as was usual in that State,

we

*Principles  
Jure Divino proved by  
Scriptures.*

we may observe, that the like is said concerning *Nebuchadnezzar* a Heathen King. *The God of Heaven hath given thee a Kingdom, power, and strength, and glory; and wheresoever the Children of Men dwell, &c. Dan. 2. 27, 28. (3.)* The holy Scriptures teach us farther, that the *Counsels and Inclinations* of supreme Governours are over-ruled by the sovereign Wisdom and Power of God, either for the Advantage or Punishments of the respective Nations under them, accordingly as they deserve either Mercy or Judgment. *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord as the Rivers of Water, and he turneth it whithersoever he will, Prov. 21. 1.* So God is said to bring the counsel of the Heathen to nought, *Psal. 33. 10.* and to turn the counsel of *Achitophel* into foolishness, *2 Sam. 15. 31.* They shall call the Nobles thereof to the Kingdom, but none shall be there, and all her Princes shall be nothing, *Isa. 34. 12. (4.)* So God does in Scripture take the Persons of Governours into his particular Consideration, *Touch not mine Anointed, Psal. 105. 15.* *Curse not the King, no not in thy Thought; and curse not the rich (i.e. the Ruler) in thy Bed-Chamber;*

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## *The Duty of Inferiours*

*ber; for a Bird of the Air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter, Prov. 10. 20. (5.)* These holy Scriptures do not only command Honour and Obedience to them, and that their Persons are to be inviolable; but give the reason why these respects are due, namely, because they are designed to their high Office by God: *I cannot stretch out my hand against the Lords Anointed and be guiltless, 1 Sam. 26. 33. He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, Rom. 13. 7.* This is ground sufficient for all Christians to believe, that Princes and other supreme Governours do enjoy their Dignities and Power by a *Divine Right*; and to let them know that they betray their holy Religion, who relinquish the plain Doctrine of their Bible for any fond Opinions whatsoever of Men. And I would desire those other Persons who shew a Zeal for their Countries Liberties, even to a contempt of their Religion, to take notice that notwithstanding the slights they put upon this Book of God's Word, after the most impartial Consideration, it will appear to afford the wisest Rules for the Government of Subjects,

Subjects, and for keeping up an Obedience and awful Regard to Superiours, that are possible to be invented; and that their Friend Mr. *Hobbs* did not without reason think it fitting, that these *Tales should be publickly allow'd*, for the great use and benefit they are of to Society; and that the *Leviathan* (as Mr. *Hobbs* calls the secular Power) has never an occasion so much to exert his force, as upon the Principles and Scholars of the wicked Book which goes under that name; a Book which destroys all ties of Conscience between Prince and Subjects, and lays all Governments open to whatsoever powerful or crafty Villains can attempt against them.

Princes are thus designed to their Office, and protected and assisted in it by God; because there is a Divine Providence which Governs the World. For if there be a Divine Providence, Kings are of Divine Right; because they must of necessity have the greatest Title to the protection of this Providence. For if every single Man by the mercy of God has a share in God's Providence, the supreme Governours

*Arg. 2.*  
*Because they have a more particular share in God's Providence.*

## The Duty of Inferiours

of a Nation must have a larger interest in it, upon whom the welfare of so many thousands does depend.

No one can deny the force of this Argument, but those who deny that and all Religion together : But as for those unhappyy Men whom God has suffered to fall into this utmost degree of Infidelity, as to deny his Providence, I do not design the Argument should hold against them ; for any Argument for Duty to Governours, is lost to those Persons, who own no obligation but Self-preservation. Nay, to what purpose should one go about to perswade them conscientiously to obey their Prince, who live *without God in the World*? But to Christians, and all other Persons who own a Providence, the Argument is demonstrative. For it is not to be thought, that God's Providence is conversant only in the irrational part of the Creation, and that God does, by wise Laws and Determinations, govern Birds, and Beasts, and Fishes; and takes no care of Mankind the principal part of it, but leaves him to shift for himself, amidst all the accidents of fortune, and the malice of wicked Men and Devils. If there be

a Providence governing the Affairs of Mankind, it must chiefly exert it self about the placing and displacing of Princes and Governours, in rendring their Counsels and Actions in War and Peace either happy or unsuccessful; for it is not to be supposed, that a Providence can govern mankind, without disposing of these great Affairs, upon which the welfare or misfortunes of Men do chiefly depend. For the other benefits of Providence cannot easily be conferred on Men, without a blessing first bestowed on the Government they live under, nor calamities so naturally befall Men, for the punishment of their Sins, without first affecting the state of their Nation, or being derived from their Governours. And thus we see in all Ages, that God dispenses a number of Mercies and Judgments upon particular Men, by sending them good or bad Princes, or by giving a blessing upon, or utterly defeating their Counsels and Endeavours. For Men's Fortunes and Estates, their plenty and quiet, the satisfaction in their Wives and Children, and Friends, and a thousand other affairs  
of

of Life, depend upon what befalls the Government they live under. Therefore since God Almighty does govern the World, and send Blessings or Punishments to mankind, by affecting them in these and the like particulars, his Providence is more particularly conversant about the supreme Governours of a Nation, from whom so great a part of these Blessings and Punishments are derived.

*Arg. 3.  
Because of  
God's Pro-  
vidence  
over Na-  
tions.*

And as this Argument holds, as to the Dispensation of God's Providence towards particular Men, so more particularly as to his exerting it in the Government of Nations. For 'tis a visible Effect of God's Providence, that Nations are either happy or miserable according as Virtue or Vice prevails among them. This is evident in the case of the *Jews*, not only from God's predicting it should be so, *Deut. 11.* but from the whole course of the History of that Nation, which either flourished or decayed according as they obeyed or neglected God's Laws. And so the *Romans* whilst Virtue prevailed among them, their conquering Ea-  
gles

gles carried all before them; but when they sunk into Vice and Wickedness, their greatness declined into contempt, their Provinces revolted, and at last their whole Empire was lost to the *Goths*, who excelled them in Virtue. Nay, 'tis to be observed in the History of every Age and Country, when a Nation is universally corrupted with Vice, that then God poures out the Vials of his Wrath upon it, by terrible Plagues or Famines, by the Conquests of Neighbouring Nations, or the Incurfions of Barbarous ones. And it is hardly ever seen that a Nation does excel in Sobriety and Virtue, but that success attends it, but that it is happy in its self, and makes a figure among its Neighbours. Now if this be the usual Dispensation of God's Providence upon Nations, as really it is, this must come to pass by designing good or bad Princes to the Crown, or by countenancing or defeating their Counsels and Designs; for almost all National Success or Punishments must begin that way. Therefore if God does send National Calamities or Successes, for the Punishment or the Advantage of the respective Nations; and  
supreme

supreme Governours by their good or bad Administration, are the usual means to this end, it must be concluded, that God does appoint these supreme Governours to their high Calling, and manage their Counsels and Actions according to his Divine Wisdom and Pleasure.

*Arg. 4.* God Almighty does at first appoint, and afterwards Providentially preserve and assist Princes, and other supreme Governours; because this has been the Opinion of the wisest Men in all former Ages. Before the *Epicurean* Philosophy got footing in the World, it was a rare thing, even for the Heathen, to talk, that Government was founded Originally in the People; that Princes received all their Power from their Subjects who set them upon the Throne, and that Providence was not more peculiarly concerned in their Advancement and Preservation, than that of other Men. It was then and since, among the sober Philosophers, the current Opinion, that all these things were owing to the Gods, and that Men ought to obey their Governours with regard

regard to their Divine Authority, which set them over them.

But the *Epicurean* Doctrines adapting themselves to the foolish Opinions of the Common People, and the corrupt Inclinations of Mankind, did thereby destroy all Religion and Government together: The *Athenians* Except Epicureans. had a simple Notion among them, which their pride and contempt of other Nations prompted them to, *viz.* that they were Autocthones or Grasshoppers, sprung out of the soil where they lived; and so fond were they of their fancy, that they had the Pictures of Grasshoppers for the Arms of their City, and used them for their Ensigns in War. This gave occasion to the *Epicurean* Philosophers to say, that all Mankind had the same Original, and at first sprung out of the Earth like Mushrooms, or, as they fancied Grasshoppers did. The Mob were zealous for the Idolatrous Worship of Images, fashioned according to human Form, which they esteemed to be Gods, or at least the true Representatives of such kind of Gods in Heaven: and therefore *Epicurus*, in complaisance to them, was pleased to make the Gods  
of

of his Philosophy of human Shape likewise. The Common-People, especially of *Athens*, were Lewd and Tumultuous, lov'd to prosecute their Vices at their will, and hated the restraint of their Governours; and therefore these Philosophers kindly sided with their wicked Inclinations; laid down for their use, that incomparable Maxim, *πάντα ἐστὶ νόμιμα*, *All things that a man is able to do, he may lawfully do*: That the Gods were careless idle Beings, which would not disturb their happiness with the affairs of this World; that they left supreme Governours and their Nations to shift for themselves; without any care or consideration had of them; that Government was but the invention of the People, after the long miseries of War in the natural State; who toil'd with those Fatigues; either made their Governours themselves, or submitted to one who usurped the Authority; that Men should obey their Superiours upon no other Principle, than to avoid the force which is lodged in their hands; that there is no natural Justice or Equity in their Laws, but that every thing is Just and Equal which they judge convenient.

*Laert. Vit.*  
*Democrit.*

*Id. Vit. E-*  
*picuri. vid.*  
*Epist. E-*  
*picuri.*

But

But long before these abominable Principles were known to the World, the wisest Men were of another mind, and allowed to the Divine Nature the Government of the World, and to Princes a proportionable part in the Affections and Consciences of their People. Thus good old *Homer*, who understood Philosophy as well, and had as good a taste of true Reasoning, as any *Epicurean*, or *Hobbist* of them all, says, *that Kings received their Crowns from Jupiter; that they were very dear to him, and that he took a providential Care in their Education.*

*The Sense of the Orphick and Pythagorick Philosophy.*

Σκηπτῆρχος βασιλεὺς ὥτε Ζεὺς κῦδ' ἔδωκεν.

Hom. Il. lib. I.

*The Scepter-bearing King whose Honour is from Jove.*

Ὅουκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίῃ εἰς κοίραν' ἔσω  
 Ἐἰς βασιλεὺς ὧ ἔδωκε κρῖνε παῖς ἀγκυλομήτω  
 Σκῆπτρον τ' ἠδὲ θέρμους, ἵν' ἀ σφοῖσι βασιλεύῃ.

Hom. Il. lib. 2.

*Multiply'd Rulers do confusion bring ;  
 But let us have one Governour, one King :  
 A King that owes his Scepter unto Jove,  
 Who gives him force, but bids him Rule by Love.*

Θυμῶς

## The Duty of Inferiours

Θυμὸς δὴ μέγας, ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων Βασιλῶν  
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ φιλεῖ δὲ ἐ μάλιστα Ζεὺς.

Hom. Il. lib. 2.

*Anger of Heav'n-bred Kings will dangerous prove,  
For they are Deputies and Friends of Jove.*

So *Hesiod* says, that the Authority of  
Kings proceed from God.

Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς Βασιλῆες —

And *Menander*;

Ἐικὼν δὲ Βασιλεύς ἐστιν ἑμψυχὸς Θεός.

*The King the living Image is of God.*

Nor are these Expressions to be supposed to be the flights and extravagant Methods of the Poets, for the gravest of the Philosophers speak the very same thing:

As for the *Pythagoreans*, their expressions upon this Subject are so great, that one would be apt to suspect them to be guilty of Flattery to some Court or other, if one did not consider that they were but agreeable to the rest of their Philosophy, and their Masters great Principle, Ἀρχὴν ἢ ὅς ἀπάντων Μονάδα ἔστι; which made them all such extraordinary

nary

nary Friends to Monarchy, as to think that no expressions were sufficient to come up to the dignity of it.

So *Diogenes*, speaking with relation to the Governments of the most antient Times, and in the *Pythagorick* way. (a) *To be a Minister* (saith he) (a) Λέγω  
 δε τὸ δε-  
 ραπύειν πὺς θεὸς βασιλέως ἀντάξιον. δὲ γὰρ αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 αἰεὶ πρᾶσαι καὶ τὸ ἀρχιμονεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιμονεῖν. ὅτι μὲν  
 ἐν ῥύσει πρῶτον αἰεὶ ὁ Θεός. ὅτι δὲ περὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους ὁ Βασιλεὺς. ἔχεν δὲ καὶ ὡς Θεὸς ποτὶ κόσμον βασιλεὺς  
 ποτὶ πόλιν. καὶ ὡς πόλις ποτὶ κόσμον βασιλεὺς ποτὶ  
 θεόν. ἃ μὲν γὰρ πόλις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφερέντων συναρμος-  
 θῆσα κόσμῳ σύνταξιν, καὶ ἁρμονίαν μιμήσεται. ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς  
 ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀνυπέυθυνον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόμος ἐμφυχτός, Θεὸς ἐν  
 ἀνθρώποις παρεχρημάτисαι. *Diolog. Lib. de Regn. apud Scob. Serm. 46.*

*in the Worship of the Gods is a part of the Regal Dignity. For it is requisite that the best should be Honoured by the best, and he that Rules by the Ruler. For God is the best of all things that are honourable; but upon Earth, and among Men, the King is so. For as God is to the World, the King is to his City: and as a City to the World, so the King is to God. For as a City, being composed of many Men and different, imitates the Beauty and Harmony of the World, so the King having an unaccountable Au-*

*imitation of God among Men. And so*

(b) Ὅθεν  
εἰς λύραν again, (b) Wherefore a King ought to  
καὶ πόλιν have his Nation tun'd as it were like a  
εὐνομιμέ- Harp, wherein he by just Laws ought to  
νην δ' αὖ συ- keep true Time and Concord, knowing that  
ναρμόσα- the Harmony of the People, whom God  
δαί βασι the Harmony of the People, whom God  
λέα, ὅθεν has committed to him, must join in con-  
δικαίωτα- sort with him.  
πον, καὶ νό-  
μω ταῦτιν

ἐν ἑαυτῷ πρῶτον καταστασόμενον εἶδὼτα δὴ ὅτι τῷ πλαθέως ὁ δέδω-  
κεν ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχιμενίαν ἀ συναρμογὰ πρὶ αὐτὸν ὠφελεῖ  
συναρμοσθῆμεν. Id.

Another Pythagorean calls a good

(c) Ζηλω- King, (c) The Imitator of the first God.

τας τῷ For as God is the first and Governour  
πρῶτω  
Θεῷ ἔῃ by Nature, so is the King γένεσι καὶ μιμήσει,  
καὶ φύσει by derivation and imitation. What God  
ἐν τῷ καὶ is to the World, he is to the Earth, &c.  
πρῶτον

βασίλευς And again, (d) Above all things it ought to  
τε καὶ δυνά- be remembred, that Kingly Government  
σαι, ὁ δὲ  
ἰστέπει, καὶ is a Divine Thing.

μιμᾶται, καὶ  
ὁ μὲν ἐν τῷ πάντι. ἔc. (d) Ἐπὶ πᾶσι δε μιμαμένευν δαί,  
ὅτι θεόμιμον ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ βασιλεία. Sthenidas Locrus Pythag.  
ib. ae Regn.

In the like strain speaks Ecphantas,

(e) ἐν τῷ another Pythagorean. (e) In the earth and

γῇ καὶ παρ'  
ἀμὼν αἰσφουρέσασιν μὲν ἄνθρωπος. Θεότερον δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ  
κοινῇ φύσει πλεονεκτῶν τῷ κρέσσον. τὸ μὲν σκᾶντο τοῖς λοιποῖς  
ὅμοιον ὅτι γεροντὸς ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης, ὥστε τεχνίτα δ' ἐρ-  
ρασμένον λῶσω, ὥς ἐτεχνίτευσεν αὐτὸν, ἀρχέπῳ χρώμενον  
ἑαυτοῦ. Ecphantas Pyth.

Κατασκευασμα

Θεον ὁ Βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἶκον τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ βασιλείῳ. τῷ μὴ πεπονηκότι γινώσκον αἰ, τοῖς δὲ ἀρχομένοις ὡς ἐν φωτὶ τῷ βασιλείᾳ βλέπομενον. Id.

Εγὼ μὲν ὢν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βασιλέα δύνασθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἢ ἀρετῶν ἐλλαττέσθαι ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βασιλείῳ. ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀποδημόντι ἐντὶ χρῆμα καὶ ξένον ἐκθεσάμενος πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς αὐτῷ ἔργα ὑπολάβοι τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ δὲ ἐκείνον αὐτῷ. Id.

*among us, Man is the most Noble, and the King is the most Divine, who being in the common Nature, doth abound with the more excellent, being like the rest in Body, as being made of the same matter; but is fashioned by the best Artist; who, when he made him, copied him out after his own Original. The King is a particular Divine Work and the Image of the Heavenly King, that is always with his Maker, but is seen by his Subjects in his Kingdom as in Light. \* And again,*

*Tis a  
Doctrine*

*of the Pythagorick and of the Oriental Philosophy, that the Angels make their appearance in Light or Fire. Vid. Jamblicum de Mysteriis. See the History of the Delivery of the Law. Exod. 20.*

*I think that no Earthly King ought to want any Vertue or Excellency which is in the Heavenly. For as he is a Sojourner here upon Earth, and is come from Heaven to live a while with Men, so his Virtues ought to be esteemed the Work of God, and Inspired by him.*

I have mentioned these Passages, not because I think they carry always a convincing Force in the reasoning of them, but to shew the opinion of the most Antient Philosophers, as to God Almighty's having a particular share in the disposal of Governments, and Ruling the Hearts of Princes. But, by the bye, methinks 'tis a shame to the Men of our time, that these poor Heathens should talk so religiously about Government, and that Men who live under a Christian Dispensation, should speak so like Heathens upon this Subject as they do. Nor is it any little honour to Monarchy, to see these *Greeks*, who lived under another Form, declare themselves so kindly in favour of it; and I am sure 'tis no great credit for *Some* to undervalue and speak so despightfully of Kingly Government, which the wisest of Men have always admired, and which our own Nation has for so many Ages been happy under.

It is most certain, whilst the *Orphick* and *Pythagorean* Philosophy were in vogue, that the Doctrine of the  
*Divine*

*Divine Right of Princes* did obtain, as to its full extent, even exclusively of Popular States. For *Orpheus*, who was a zealous Propagator of the Monarchy in Heaven, and the Government of one supreme God over the other lesser subordinate Demons, took Kingly Government to be a Copy of the same here upon Earth, contrived at first and since particularly supported by God. And from him *Homer* and *Hesiod* had their Lessons. So *Pythagoras*, the Principles of whose Philosophy led him to the admiration of Unity, lookt upon this form of Government as absolutely *Divine*, and Princes to be a sort of Angels, or some admirable Souls in a preexistent State, which were employ'd by God to execute this high Calling here on Earth, as a reward of their former Virtue, and to do good among Men. And tho these Philosophers might not ground this Doctrine of the Divine Right of Princes upon so firm a foundation as Christians, who are bless'd with a Revelation, do; they being assisted only by their own natural Reason, and a few antient Traditions: yet this helped to keep up in them a Conscien-

tious Regard to human Laws, and a Piety in Religious Worship, which the Sect of the *Pythagoreans* were remarkable for, beyond any Sect of Philosophers whatsoever.

*The Opinion of several Philosophers.*

But the *Orphick* and *Pythagorick* Schools were not the only *Jure-Divino* Men, among the Antients. *Plato* himself is for a Divine Power assisting in Human Politicks, furthering their Counsels and Designs, sometimes overruling them contrary to their expectations, and dictating to them Counsels which they do not understand the tendency of, in order to fulfil its most wise Purposes, 'tis a remarkable Passage that of his in his *Meno*. \* *We may as properly*

\* Ὁρθῶς  
ἀν καλοῖ-  
μεν θεῖας

ἄς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν χρησμοδὸς καὶ μάντις καὶ ποιητικὸς ἅπαντας καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς, ἃς ἤχιστα τέτων φαίμεν ἂν θεὸς δὲ εἴη καὶ ἐνθεσιάζειν ἐπὶ πνεύματι ὄντας καὶ κατεχομένους ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅταν κωλύσθωσι λέγοντες πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα, μηδὲν εἰδότες ὧν λέγουσι.

*call Governours, or States-men Divine, as we call those who give out the Oracles, or Prophets or Poets by that name; and we may affirm, that they have a Divine Illumination, and are possessed by the Deity, when they consult for the good of the*  
Common-

*Common-wealth, saying many and great things, which they themselves do not understand.*

And so again in his *Protagoras*, speaking how the *Athenians* ask the Advice of the Artificers of each particular Trade, being to consult of matters relating to their Art ; † But (says † Ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ πε-  
 εἰ τῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως δὲν βαλεύμεθα, συμβολέμεν αὐτοῖς ἄν-  
 ψάμβρος περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων μὴ τέκτων, ὁμοίως δὲ χαλκῆς,  
 σκυτοτόμου, ἔμπορου, ναυκλήρου, πλάσιου, πάντας γενεῶν,  
 ἀγνῆς. καὶ τέτις ἐδείξεν τὸ ἐπιπλήττει ὡς πρὶς τοῖς πρότερον.  
 ὅτι ἐδαμόθεν μαθὼν ἐδὲ ὅλην διδασκαλίαν ἐδενὸς αὐτῷ ἐπιτε-  
 συμβολέμεν ἐπ' ἑαυτοῦ. Plat. Protag.

he) when they come to consult about the Administration of the Commonwealth, at the same time the Carpenter gives his Judgment, together with the Brasier, as also the Currier ; the Merchant and the Mariner, the Rich Man and the Poor, the Gentleman and the Clown. And yet no one finds fault with them for this, as they would do in the former case. For being taught by no man, and having no Master, they venture to give counsel in these affairs.

The Philosopher's meaning is, that there is some God or Demon who over-rules all these ordinary Men's Con-

sultations, for the good of the Commonwealth, in that popular State: and there is no doubt but he would have ventured to have said more, if he had lived under another Form of Government.

And if we have any regard to the opinion of *Xenophon* in these matters, we shall find him speaking more like a Divine than a Philosopher, when

|| Τὸ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν, ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομίζουσιν, οὕτως ὁ νόμος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν, ὡς οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομίζουσιν. *Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 4.*

*Punishments for Offenders, it is a sign that they proceed from another Legislator than one among Men. Demosthenes says,*

\*\* Πᾶς ἐστὶν νόμος ἢ ἐν πρῶτῳ καὶ ἐν ἑσπερίῳ Θεῷ. *Demost. Orat. contra Aristogit.*

I will produce but one Testimony more of the Heathens, and that shall be of the great *M.T.Cicero*, for the Power of the Gods interposing in the Affairs of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and for the Preservation and Happiness of it.

it. \* Who is so foolish, who is so ignorant, who is so un-  
 up to Heaven, does not perceive, that *deors, qui*  
 those things which are made by so great a *aut cum su-*  
 Mind, that scarce any man by any art is *spexerit in*  
 able to understand the order and *caelum De-*  
 tude of those Bodies, can think that they *esse non*  
 came to pass by chance? or when he is sa- *sentiat, &*  
 tisfied that there are Gods, does not un- *ea quae tan-*  
 derstand that it is by their Deity that *tum mente*  
 this so great an Empire was Founded, *fiant, ut*  
 and Enlarged, and Preserved? For nei- *vix quis-*  
 ther did we excel the Spaniards in num- *quam arte*  
 ber, nor the Gauls in strength, nor the *ullâ ordi-*  
 Africans in subtilty, nor the Greeks in *nem rerum*  
 Arts, nor in the Domestick and Native *& vicissi-*  
 Sense of this Nation and Country, did *itudinem*  
 we exceed the Italians and Latins; but *persequi*  
 in Piety and in Religion, and in this *possit, casu*  
 only Wisdom, that we were persuaded that *periputer?*  
 all things were ruled and governed by the *aut cum*  
 Deity of the immortal Gods, we have *Deos esse*  
 overcome all Countries and Nations. *intellexe-*  
 Which, by the way, is not only one *rit, non*  
 of the most Artificial but one of the *intelligat*  
 wisest Periods in Tully, and worthy of *eorum nu-*  
 a Christians consideration. *mine hoc*  
*tantum*

*Imperium*  
*esse natum*  
*& auctum*  
*& reten-*  
*tum? Nec*  
*statim nu-*  
*mero Hi-*  
*spanos, nec*  
*robore Gal-*  
 los, nec calliditate Parnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec d. niq; hoc ipso  
 hujus Gentis ac Terræ domestico nativq; sensu Italos ipsos ac  
 Latinos; sed pietate & religione atq; hac una sententiâ, quod deorum  
 immortalium numine omnia regi gubernariq; perspeximus, omnes  
 gentes nationesq; superavimus. Cic. de Arusp. Resp.

Nor

Nor does *Cicero* speak more Religiously than ordinary upon this special Occasion of the Answers of the *Aruspices*; for 'tis his usual phrase upon other occasions, *Dii qui conservastis hanc Remp. Jupiter hujus Urbis Custos*, &c. which sufficiently shews the Religious Temper of the *Roman* Nation at that time. Indeed not long after, as the *Epicurean* Philosophy got footing, all Religious Principles lost ground, and were buried with the Liberties of *Rome*; for the *Cæsarean* Faction were mostly loose *Epicureans*, and in *Augustus's* Reign, and in several of the following Emperors, those Principles were most in vogue; as appears by the Writings of *Ovid*, *Horace*, *Martial*, *Pliny*, and even of *Virgil* himself. But before these times, such expressions as these were not usually heard. *An Dii sint?* *Quint. Credimus esse Deos.* *Mart. Estis io superi*, &c. *Stat.*

They were accustomed before to more Religious Talk; but from *Julius Cæsars* time to *Trajans*, or afterwards, Virtue and Religion seemed to be laid aside

afide in that State, till the Christian Principles had in ſome meafure revived them among the Heathens, and they began to ſhew a freſh Spring in the Reigns of the *Antonines*. But this is ſufficient for Heathen Authorities.

If we look into Christian Writers, The Opinion of Antient Christians their Testimonies are much more numerous, as following the example of the Holy Scriptures, which have given them a particular light into this matter of the Divine Right of Princes, and their being ſettled and in an eſpecial manner preſerved in their Throne, by Almighty God. I ſhall only pick out two or three Paſſages of the antient Fathers, which are moſt remarkable upon this Subject, and ſo have done with theſe drie Quotations, which I am afraid have made this Preface already too tedious. It is a ſaying worthy of remark, that of *Irenæus*, \* 'Tis for the profit of the parti-

Ad utilitatem gentium  
*tilium terrenum poſitum eſt Regnum à Deo; cujus enim juffu homines naſcuntur, hujus juffu & Reges conſtituantur, apti iis qui in illo tempore ab ipſis regnantur.* Iren lib. 5. adv. Hær. Val.

cular Countries, that Earthly Kingdoms are eſtabliſhed by God. For by whoſe command

command Men are born, by the command of the same, Kings are constituted, exactly fitted for the Men of that time who are ruled by them. So Tertullian ; (a)

(a) Inde est Impe-

ratior unde & Homo antequam Imperator : unde potestas illi unde & spiritus. Tertul. Apol. & paulo ante. Sciant, scilicet Imperatores, quis illis dederit Imperium, sciant quis Homines, quis & animas sentiant Deum esse solum, cujus solus in potestate sunt. Et maxime necesse est ut suspiciamus Imperatorem, ut eum quem Dominus noster elegerit, ut merito dixerim noster magis est Caesar ut à nostro Deo constitutus. Ibid.

The Emperor proceeds from him who made him a Man before he was an Emperor ; thence he had his Power from whom he had his Breath. And again ; Let the Emperors know who gave them their Empire ; who made them Men, and gave them their Souls ; let them understand that there is one God, whose Power alone they are under. And it is highly necessary that we Reverence the Emperor, as a Person whom our Lord hath chosen, and as I may truly say, who is the peculiar Caesar of us Christians, because his is appointed by our God.

The like says St. Gregory of Nazi-

\* *Χεῖρὶς* anzum to the Emperor. \* You reign to-  
gether.

*Χεῖρὶς καὶ συνδυναῖς, παρ' ἐκείνου σοὶ τὸ ζῆλον.* Greg. Naz. O-  
rat. 17-

gether

gether with Christ, you administer affairs jointly with Christ, from him is your Sword. So St. Austin, \*\* Let us not \*\* *Non tribuamus dandiregnum atq; imperii potestatem nisi Deo vero qui dat felicitatem in regno caelorum* attribute the Power of giving a Kingdom and Empire, but only to the true God, who gives happiness in the Kingdom of Heaven only to the good, but the Earthly Kingdom both to good and bad, as it is pleasing to him, to whom no unjust thing is pleasing. And again, He that gave the Empire to Marius gave the same to Cæsar, he that gave it to Augustus gave it to Nero, he that gave it to Vespasian, Father and Son, gave it to cruel Domitian, and that I may not instance in all the Emperors, he that gave it to Constantine a Christian, gave it to Julian an Apostate.

*Aug. de Civit. Dei*

Lib. 5. Cap. 21.

*Qui dedit Mario ipse & Cæsari, qui Augusto ipse & Neroni, qui Vespasiano vel Patri vel Filio ipse & Domitiano crudelissimo; & ne per singulos ire necesse sit, qui Constantino Christiano, ipse Apostate Juliano. Ib.*

Now from all these Citations I conclude, that it is improbable, that this Notion of Princes being constituted by Almighty God, and the Divine Providence's taking into its especial Care their Administration of Affairs, should enter into the Heads of so many different

ferent Men, of different Ages and different Nations; unless there were some cogent Reason in the nature of the thing to inforce it, or some antient Tradition derived from the eldest of Mankind, to whom it was first communicated from Heaven.

I have now done with the Arguments upon this Subject, and shall only make Answer to some general Objections, which may lie against this Doctrine of *the Divine Right of Princes*.

*Obj. 1. When this Honour of a Divine Original is ascribed to Princes, it seems to settle in Men's Heads such Notions of their being the Favorites of Heaven, that their Subjects dare not oppose their unjust Encroachments, but enclines them to think, that when they are defending their Rights, it looks like fighting against Heaven, and that all calling them to account, tho' for never so great Enormities, can hardly be distinguished from lifting up a hand against God. Now this Doctrine may be tolerable enough, perhaps, in an absolute Monarchy, but must be very ill calculated for the Scene of our Affairs, where, to our happiness, Liberty claims an equal share with Prerogative.*

I am sure this is not one of the most well-natur'd of Arguments, which endeavors to reject a revealed Truth and a necessary Duty, because it hinders Men from executing their spight against their Governours. For generally speaking, when Men talk of *calling their Princes to Account*, they have more of Revenge and other black Passions in their Hearts, than either Justice or an honest Love to Liberty. For there is scope enough for the severity of the Laws among the evil Ministers of such a Prince, and if these be sufficiently Punished, for the Oppression of the Peoples Liberties, as oft as they arise, there needs no calling Princes to an account, in the sense these Gentlemen mean. I must confess I have a very great Zeal for the Peoples Liberties, I abhor Tyranny as the most execrable of Crimes, and have a passionate Fondness for our Nations particular Constitution; but I think all this is consistent with a hearty Love to every good Prince thereof, and a respectful Regard to the Person of the worst King that shall ever be supposed to sit upon this Throne.

For

*Ansiv.*  
*Divine*  
*Right of*  
*Princes no*  
*bar to the*  
*Liberties*  
*of a free*  
*Nation.*

For this, *calling them to account*, that is, as these Men mean by the phrase, *Imprisoning, Arraigning, Executing, or Assassinating* them, &c. is inconsistent not only with the Duty and Obligation of a Subject, but with the National Constitution, which, as it is a Monarchy, must have the Royal Dignity kept up, which such a vile Treatment of the King's Person would destroy; and so instead of punishing the Misdemeanors of an ill King would make a way to have none at all.

2. But tho the *Jus Divinum* of our Kings does engage a great deal of Respect and Honour to their Persons, yet it is not the *Jus Divinum* alone, which makes their Persons *Sacro-sanct* and inviolable among us, but this is chiefly owing to the great Priviledges the Laws have invested their Royal Persons with. For the Laws do provide Punishments for all other Persons, who hold their Office by a Divine Right; for when Bishops or Priests are Delinquents, they lie open to all the Penalties which the Law inflicts for their Offences. And therefore these Gentlemen when they are disposed to be merry, would with more Justice  
break

break their Jests upon the Laws of the Land, than upon the *Jus Divinum*, or Unction of God Almighty; for it is not the *Jus Divinum* but the Laws of our Countries which guard the Royal Authority with this great Exemption.

3. But after all, Men may be as free as they can wish, and enjoy the Privileges their Ancestors have conveyed down to them with a full satisfaction; and yet their Princes may be of *Divine Right* for all that. For why should I be less free under a Government which God Almighty does concern himself in, than under one which pretends to nothing but Human Authority? One would have thought to have been Governed by Him had been the most perfect freedom: For no Government besides His can be so. For all other Governments are visible Restraint; under them our Wills are forcibly determined by severe Sanctions to one side; but God Almighty in his Government gently leads and disposes our Wills, and makes that likewise to be our own choice, which he has before resolved. And certainly Men can never be more at ease concerning their Rights and Liberties, than when they

are persuaded that they are under the Administration of the wise and righteous God, who not only *stills the Tumult of the People*, but *turneth the Kings heart whithersoever he will*.

Obj. 2. *It is but a fond Notion to talk of God's disposing of Crowns, and his particular Care of Princes; because it does not appear that his Providence does exercise it self more in those affairs than in other matters of the World. And there is no Constat, that God gives Princes their Crowns in a more especial manner, than he gives Riches and Honours, and the rest of the good things of this World to other Men.*

*Ansiv.* There is a very wide difference in the holy Scriptures expressing these things. For in the one God is said only barely to give, but in the other the expression denotes a most particular Interposition. When God calls David and Cyrus his *Anointed* and his *Shepherds*, when he says, *Princes hearts are in his hands*, this denotes more than an ordinary act of Providence. In the one there seems only a common course of Nature, which God gave the first

first impressions to, and which (unless upon extraordinary occasions) he leaves to it self and to the operation of second Causes. But in the other he claims a particular Exemption for himself, in which his own great Prerogative does continually interpose, and in which nature has far less share than in other matters.

2. In these ordinary Affairs of Life; there is nothing so very concerning but that usual Nature and common acts of Providence are sufficient for the government of; but Kingdoms and Nations are of so high a moment, and involved in such a number of mysterious Designs and Events, which the Wisdom of Heaven has forecasted for their advantage or punishment, that the greatest share of Providence which displays it self in the affairs of this World, finds therein a proper Object to exercise it self upon.

3. Neither is it necessary that these extraordinary Acts of Providence, which exert themselves in the affairs of Government, should be so visible and apparent, as miraculous Interpositions formerly were. I do not say that the Interpositions of God Almighty

in the Government of Nations are formal Miracles, in the precise notion of the Word ; but yet they are as much effects of the Divine Power as Miracles. For Miracles properly speaking, are a violent perturbation of Nature, which creates such a disorder in her Rules as attracts Men Eyes to it, and excites wonder and amazement in beholders. But in these cases Nature is led by a gentle and easie management, and in a course seemingly not much different from her own, which occasions these effects of Providence to pass by ordinary Observation ; but yet still these are as much the Acts of God, and nature is as much over-ruled and put by her genuine Tendency, as if her Powers were violently attacked and shocked by the most visible Miracle. Nor is it at all requisite or reasonable, that such Acts of Gods Interposition should be so visible as Miracles were. For the end of a Miracle is not so much to work the miraculous Effect, as to be a sign of God's Mission. And I make no question but the blind and lame, and sick, which were cured by the Word of our Saviour and his Apostles, had had the ordinary

dinary Methods of Physick, or Diet, or Exercife, found out for their Deliverance by the common Providence of God, had not thefe visible Miracles been requifite, to confirm the Truth of the Gofpel. But the great Interpositions of the Divine Energy in the Affairs of Government, are defigned only to work the Effect, which the Wifdom of God has refolved on ; they are in no ways contrived for confirmative Signs or Tokens, and therefore there is no reafon they fhould be fo apparently visible ; God not defigning to teach the World by thefe Acts, but only to govern it.

4. But after all, tho the Interpofition of God in the Government of the World, be not fo openly conspicuous as his miraculous Operations are, yet they are visible to every confidering Eye that more nicely examines the Affairs of the World. For the extraordinary Providence which preferves the Lives of good Kings and Governours, and keeps Nations from impendent Ruin, by the moft ftrange and unforefeen Accidents that no mortal Wifdom could ever have projected ; which Punifhes wicked Princes a thoufand

ways that no man could ever have imagined, and which hardly ever (as far as the Annals of Antiquity give leave to observe) lets powerful Villany go on successfully to the third Generation; which keeps a Regular Administration of Affairs in all parts of the World, tho it be often lodged in the hands of wicked Men, who if they were left to themselves, would destroy all about them, but being over-ruled by God's Wisdom, do promote Justice and Peace, and all the good Effects of the Magistratual Power, tho they do nothing else that is good besides. These providential Acts of the Divine Wisdom do as plainly prove God's interesting himself in the Affairs of Government, to every one who seriously considers them, as if we saw them, like other vulgar matters, just before our Eyes.

*When it is said that Government did*  
*Obj. 3. not proceed originally from the People, but*  
*was first made known to the World by God*  
*Almighty, we are at a stand to know what*  
*sort of Government that Primitive one*  
*was. For God is not the Author of ge-*  
*nerals, which are pure Entia Rationis,*  
*and Notions of the Mind, but of parti-*  
*culars.*

culars, which alone have a real Subsistence. So when God is said to make the Herbs of the Field, it is meant he made every particular Herb, and not Herbage in general; which can have no sense, unless there be meant by it every particular Plant. So likewise to say God instituted Government in general, without determining one particular Species of it, or giving Men leave to choose what kind of Government they pleased (which last, by the way, is to make Men the Author of it.) This must be a thought without any meaning. Therefore to know in what manner this Institution of God Almighty took effect in the beginning, is a matter which wants a little Information concerning it.

In Answer to this, I say, that Monarchy was the Plan which God Almighty first gave out for the Government of Men, and which shew'd it self in the Infancy of the World, under the Form of Paternal Jurisdiction. I know this Patriarchal Form has been made a Jest of by some Persons of late, through the Indiscretion of others, who have carried this matter farther than it will well bear. But it shall neither be my business to defend their

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mistakes,

*Ansiv.*

*Monarc y  
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ment settl-  
ed by God.*

mistaks, nor to reply to the sportive Reasonings of those others who oppose this Doctrine in gross with so much reputed Wit and Pleasantry; it being some Men's Talent to hoot at Arguments instead of confuting them. I shall only lay down in general, that God did reveal the Rules of Government to the first Inhabitants of the World, and left the Execution of them to the heads of Families, and the chief Conductors of Colonies, upon their separation from their original Stock. Now this executive Power was at first lodged in one Man's Hands; for all Writers agree, that this was the Primitive Form,\* and practised among all

^ Το πρώ-  
τον ἐβασί-  
λευοντο αἱ  
πολεις.

*Arist. Polit. Lib. 1. Omnes antiquæ Gentes legibus quondam paruerunt. Ar. de Leg. lib. 3.*

the Nations of the *East*, in the Histories whereof no other Form is ever heard of, unless it be a commendation of them in the Speeches of *Otanes* and *Megabyzus*, in *Herodotus*; † which Orations to be sure were feigned by the Greek Compiler of that History. And 'tis well known, that the World was some thousand of years old, when *Democracies* and *Aristocracies* were first set up

† Herod.  
Hist. lib. 3.

up in *Greece*. But if we consult the Scripture History, which is the most antient and most exact in these matters, we shall there find, that People were governed, in the earliest times, by little Princes, whose Dominions were but of a very small extent; probably they Ruled over but one little Town and a few Fields and Villages adjoining to it; as appears by the account of the several petty Kings mentioned *Gen. 14.* the King of *Sodom*, the King of *Gomorrhah*, the King of *Admah*, *Zeboam*, *Zoar*, &c. Now the Territories of these Princes must needs be very small, as appears by this Observation; for the Text says, that *after the morning arose, the Angels hastned Lot to go from Sodom, Gen. 19. 15.* And they were got into *Zoar* as soon as the Sun was risen: *The sun was risen upon the Earth when Lot entered into Zoar, v. 33.* Now 'tis expressly said, that this *Zoar* was but a *little one*; probably in respect of *Sodom*, *v. 20.* And *Sodom* it self could have no very great Territories, from which City to *Zoar* the capital Seat of another King, *Lot* could go between break of Day and Sun-rising. Besides, the other four  
Kings,

Kings, which encountred with the *five* before-mentioned, could not be of much greater Power, whom *Abraham* with his 318 trained Servants could defeat and rescue his Kinsman *Lot* from. Now when we see that Governments were so very small about *Abraham's* time, it does appear very probable, that a Generation or two before, these little Towns, were only so many particular Families. For this seems to be the most natural way of Peopling the World after the Flood, and most agreeable to Scripture. When a Family was encreased so much that they found the Pasturage of the Neighbourhood to grow too scanty for their Cattle, and that they had not ground enough for Tillage at a convenient distance from their abode; a number of the younger multitude, who had no Inheritance in the Neighbouring Fields, look'd out for a new Settlement in some part of the adjacent Country, which lay unoccupied; out of this number those who were the most wealthy or honourable, settled new Families in the next fruitful Soil, and those of the poorer sort lived under them as their Domesticks: in which Settlement they staid till this Family increa-

increased into a populous Town ; when again, upon scantiness of Land, they grew ripe for new Colonies. Such a Colony *Terah* is said to have drawn from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, Gen. 11. 31. and *Abraham* from *Haran*, Gen. 12. 5.

Now the whole Government of such a new Settlement, was in the Master of this great Family, or, if you had rather call it so, in the Head of the Colony. He was their Captain in War; thus *Abraham* armed his trained Servants, Gen. 14. 14. who also entred into League with *Abimelech*, Gen. 21. was their Priest to offer Sacrifice, Gen. 20. and, in all probability, did exercise all other Acts of Sovereignty. So that from this little Domestick Principality came the great Nation of the *Jews*.

Nor do I think it is to be doubted, but that all other Nations had the like Original of their Government. From a large Family they became in time a Populous City, which City either by War, or by intermixture of Marriages, or by Confederacy, gained Authority over their Neighbouring Cities, which had the same rise ; and so in time the Descendants of him who was but Master of a Family at first, became Princes over

*The first Specimen Paternal Jurisdiction, or the Master-ship of a great Family.*

over very great Countries. So the *Babylonish* Monarchy took its rise only by swallowing up these little Primitive Principalities, or other larger Governments which had been before formed out of them.

This is no improbable Account of this matter, and seems very agreeable to Scripture, and for that reason does not deserve to be treated with that scorn and contempt, which some late Writers afford it. I am sure the great *Aristotle* did content himself with this Hypothesis of the Origin of Government;

Ἐν οἰκίᾳ πρῶτον ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγὰς πολιτείας καὶ δικαίου.  
*The beginning and fountain of all Polity and Justice is from a Family.* Arist:  
 ad Eud.

Now after this, I say farther, that it is highly probable, that God Almighty gave Instructions to the Heads of these Primitive Families, both after the Creation and after the Flood, how they should Govern those numbers of People that were under them; which Scheme of Instructions was the Ground - work of all the Rules of Government, which have obtained in  
 the

the World ever since. I have shew'd before, that those frequent Conversations which our first Parents and some of their Successors had with the holy Angels, did inform them not only of the Principles of Natural and Ceremonial Religion, but of Government likewise; which probably began to take effect under the form of Paternal or Oeconomical Jurisdiction; because the World was not Peopled enough to admit of any other Form. Indeed Politics do not seem to have been so compleat at first as they are at present; variety of subsequent Accidents and Events having in so long a time contributed to their perfection. Perhaps at first the greatest part of the coercive Power was contained in a sort of Excommunication, or exclusion from Sacrifices, or a non-acceptance of them, as in the case of *Cain*; under which easie Dispensation the World did grow extraordinary Wicked, in the days of the Antediluvians. But after the Flood God was pleased to add to his other Political Laws, Capital Punishments. *Whosoever sheddeth Blood, by man shall his blood be shed, for in the Image of God made he man, Gen. 9. 6.* Now it is plain,

*No sanguinary Laws at first.*

plain, that some one or other was vested with the Power of exacting this Sanguinary Law in *Noah's* time. *Aristocracies* and *Democracies*, I suppose will not be said to have been thought of then, and Mankind was not yet widely enough diffused to compose perfect Monarchies. Therefore it must be allowed, that the Parental Power was intrusted with it, and kept it all along both before and after it had encreased to a considerable Monarchy, or was swallowed up by a greater.

From hence their Errours may be discovered, who will have no other Rise of Government but from the Election of a Prince, or some other Governour by the People. For Mankind was never at any time without some Governour or other. For in the earliest Ages of the World they lived under their Father's Government, who was both their Monarch and Priest. When his Government grew too large, they were under the command of him who carried them to a new Settlement; and when a new Colony sprung up out of them, these were put under another new Monarch, provided most pro-

probably, if they went off in numbers, by the Prince whose Authority they lived under before; without whose consent they had no right to depart *Gregatim*, and which would not be suffered in any Government at present when the World is better Peopled; or if they were inclined to one Governour more than another, such a Post would hardly be obtained without the consent of the Supreme Governour of the Mother Nation.

This to me seems the most Natural and Scriptural Account of Peopling the World, and of the Origin of the different Polities thereof; and is I think much more Rational than the *Epicurean* Hypothesis, which our modern Republicans are so fond of; *viz.* That Mankind lived a great while without any Government, till the miserable Distractions of that Anarchy forced them to elect Governours, and vest them with an Authority derived from their own selves.

If some Men have made wrong deductions from these premises, it is what I am not to answer for. I do not think

think that it is necessary from hence to conclude, that every Government ought to be Monarchical, or that every Monarchy ought to be Absolute, according to the Form of those Primitive Ages, when the want of written Laws made that kind of Government necessary ; nor that the Succession in Monarchy ought to go in a Regular Primogeniture, derived in a direct Line from *Adam* or *Noah*, or at least from one of the 72 Princes the Founders of the several Nations mentioned *Gen. 10.* For my part, as to these particulars, I am so far of Mr. *Sidney's* Opinion, as to think, that if these methods were practised in the Primitive Times, yet they are no model for our Government now ; and that we are no more obliged in all points to copy after them, than we ought to take the sample of our Houses, our Food, or Raiment, from *Adam's* Hutts, or Arcorns, or Coats of Skins, I do think it sufficient for us to follow our own wholsom Laws and Customs, which God has graciously blessed us with beyond other Nations ; by vertue of which, under the special Providence of God, we have had a Succession of a  
great

great many brave Princes, by whose Government we have enjoy'd a just Liberty without the distractions of a Tumultuous Licence; which Privileges as they have been long ago derived to us by our Predecessors in these Northern Climates, so I hope they will never be enervated by any Despotick Power of the East introduced among us; and I likewise hope, that all true Christians, and all true Lovers of their Country, will for ever disdain to be beholden to Atheistical Principles, to defend that Liberty, which the good Providence of God has bestowed upon us.

*But one thing which renders Men* Obj. 4<sup>th</sup>  
*strangely averse to these Doctrines, is, That they were espoused by the Tory Party both of the Clergy and Laity, in the late Reigns; but these Gentlemen's Actions have given such a stain to their Character, that nothing that comes from that quarter can expect to find reception at this time of day. They were the Abettors of these sort of Principles, which raised Arbitrary Power to those exorbitancies, the effect whereof we lately felt; who brought a Popish Successor to the Crown*

in opposition to the soberer and wiser part of the Nation, and which have done none of the kindest Offices to our present King since, they being by their Principles averſe to the happy Conſtitution we are now under. Theſe are Doctrines calculated for the Meridian of *Turky*, and the Wooden Shoes of *France*.

*Anſw.* This is an Objection which is urged ſo frequently, with ſo much unhandſom keenneſs, and ſuch a want of a Chriſtian Spirit, with ſo much Re- proach to a great and honourable part of the *Engliſh* Nation, as well as the Clergy thereof, and is obſerved to find ſuch a greedy acceptance among ſome Perſons when 'tis offer'd; that I preſume it may not be undeſerving of ſome conſideration in this place. Not that I think any Opinion is the leſs true for being held by any party whatſoever; but the generality of the world has more regard to Perſons than to Things, and there is no Argument ſo good, but the Character of Men, who maintain it, will afford it either advantage or diſcouragement. Therefore to do juſtice to the Argument I have been  
upon,

upon, and to the Reputation of so great a Body of the Nation, I will take this Objection into view, and endeavour to shew, that the Persons here levelled at, are not such ill Men, as to their former Practises or Principles, or their Dispositions to the present Government, as their adversaries are pleased unkindly to represent them. And I hope in this matter to be a very impartial Advocate, as having no Cause of my own to plead in it, my Age not permitting me to have had any part in those Contests: for the unhappy Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* were invented when I was but a Child, and the warmth of Passive Obedience had left the Pulpit before I had the honour to come into it. It grieves me to see two such contending Parties struggling still within the Bowels of this Nation and disturbing so long our mutual Peace and Quiet, and 'tis my daily prayer to God, that when 'tis his Heavenly Will, they may be united; and I do promise for my self to make it my business to improve every opportunity which shall lie in the way of my poor Endeavours to contribute to such a happy effect; and at present I

think, that by shewing how much we have been mistaken in the Characters of one another, may be one good expedient to promote a better understanding among us for the future. As for the accusing Party it must be owned, they have shewed no inconsiderable Instances of their Zeal for the National Liberties, when the thoughts of others were not sufficiently awakned by the attacks upon them; and for this Virtue they have had their share of Glory and Reward in this Age, and I doubt not but Posterity will bestow their Commendations hereafter.

*The late  
supporting  
Prerogative not  
inexcusable.*

But, in behalf of the Persons here accused, it may likewise be urged, that their Adversaries in their Accusations, do load them too hard: for 'tis not to be believed, that the generality of them did stretch Passive Obedience to such a mere Bow-string Doctrine as has been represented, or that ever they thought that the Nation ought to give up their Throats tamely, whenever a Tyrant should present his Mutes or Butchers to them. This is only the descant of Haranguers,  
and

and a Rhetorical Artifice to make a Party and their Opinions look odious. Indeed some of these Persons were to be blamed, for advancing Prerogative too high, and giving too great a Power to those, who would make no other use of it than to subvert the Peoples Liberties. But then, are there no grains of allowance to be made for human Infirmities, and no consideration to be had of future Virtue? Is it not some part of an excuse for these Persons, that then they had not exact thoughts of the Constitution of our Nation, which was never perfectly understood till of late years; when our Controversies about it have searched these matters to the bottom, and set many dark and unobserved Truths relating thereto in a clear view? Would not a Reflexion, on the Miseries and Blood of the late Civil Wars, give good Men an utter aversion to these Men and their Principles, which had brought these insupportable Calamities upon them? Was it not natural for a Gentleman that had recovered a flourishing Patrimony out of the hands of a greedy Sequestrator, to be inclined to allow his Prince any thing, by whose

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Restoration

Restoration he was kept from starving? Were not the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation to be excused, if they gave that Monarchy too great an encouragement, by which they were freed from the Slavery of an insolent Army, and the Oppression of their Creatures? Such excesses as these are but natural in all such happy Revolutions: The transport of Joy which is usual at such times, is apt so to possess Men's Minds, that they have not that just regard they ought, to Futurity and Consequences; they then only take care to run back from that which gave them the last disturbance, and think they can never be mischieved but only one way. This was the case of the late Royalists; they having suffered so much by pretenders to Liberty, and being unwilling by a Notional Disturbance to bring themselves a second time under the same Bondage, they would never be brought to think, but that all Complaints against the Court, were but the methods of the old Mutineers acted over again. And might not these Gentlemen very well think it to be a little suspicious, that those who were  
the

the forwardest in the cry for Liberty, should be those very Persons who had but just before strained Prerogative to its fullest stretch, who themselves had been the Advisers of the most Arbitrary Proceedings, who never talk'd in behalf of their Country till they had lost their Places at Court, nor were zealous for the Peoples Rights till they were out of hopes of oppressing them any longer. Some things indeed looked very scurvily, but they could not tell what colours might have been given them to make them appear so; and therefore were reputed by many not unwise Men, to be but the counter-parts of the Libels of 41, by which the Sons might be calumniated as causelessly as the Father; and so were unwilling to make any breach in the Succession, for fear they should endanger the Monarchy it self, and undo their own Families again with it. With these Jealousies on one hand, and a fancied Security on the other, they were unhappily lull'd on till their Liberties began to crack about their Ears: but they saw their errors before it was quite too late, and like Men roused up in a fright, they put on an un-

wonted Vigour in vindication of their Rights and Religion; and by that have given such a shock to Popery and Arbitrary Power, that I believe they have for ever taken their farewell of this Nation. Now such a brave Repentance as this was, makes a noble Atonement for any former Miscarriage, especially when some of Those who made the lowdest Cry against Popery at a distance, had not the heart at least to appear so keen adversaries against it, when it was just upon us.

*The opposing the  
Exclusion  
had a fair  
pretence.*

But what wicked Actions or Principles, I pray, were this Party guilty of, that they are painted out now a-days in such hideous Shapes? The worst that they are accused to have done is, that they promoted King *James's* Succession to the Crown, and and so were the accidental Causes of all the dangers which our Religion and Liberties were in, during that Reign.

But are Men justly to be charged with all the accidental Consequents of an action, and are they as much guilty of all that may happen upon it, as if they by forecast designed it? I dare  
say,

say, the greatest part of those who were against the Exclusion, did abhor Popery as much as those who were for it; and if their Zeal for the Preservation of the Succession inviolable, brought their Religion into danger, they were more to be condemned for an erroneous Judgement than for an ill Intention. I am confident, that those who drove out the *Royal Family* from the Nation in the late Civil Wars, were the occasion of King *JAMES's* Perversion to the *Roman Faith*, and of all his unfortunate Zeal for it: but then they must not be said to have done this for that very design, nor be charged with the guilt of that Intention. And therefore, why is not as much Justice to be allowed on the other side? Nay, I question, whether the wisest in any other Nation would not have done as the Anti-Exclusioners did.

The wounds of the Civil War, which did yet continue smarting, would have made any considering People cautious of venturing upon the Sword again, and choose rather to trust the Duke, tho suspected, with the Crown, than to engage themselves again in new fighting

fighting and plundering. Nay, in all human Probability, if the Exclusion had took effect, it had had more ill Consequences than the Succession of that Prince: For the Duke, at that time, had an Interest in the Nation strongly bottom'd, the Power of *France* was then in its most formidable Vigour, and being at leisure too, would hardly have forborn to have taken hold of the specious Pretence of righting an injured Prince; and then God Almighty alone knows where such a War would have ended. At that time of day, the Duke, whilst he stood possess'd of so many Friends, would scarce have left the Nation so quietly as he did, when by his unhappy Administration the People were universally disobliged: he would then have won or lost the Crown, at the expence of an Ocean of Blood, and a World more of Mischiefs, which God by his good Providence has now prevented. Upon the whole, tho I am far from having any Objection, as to the Lawfulness of an Exclusion in general, and its agreeableness with our Constitution, yet at that season I cannot think, that every wise and good Man must judge

it expedient. So that from hence it may appear, that if the Gentlemen who were against the Exclusion, have not a pretence to the greatest Character of Wisdom and Forecast, they have abundantly wherewith to justifie themselves from that Treachery and Infidelity to their Country, which their Adversaries do so unkindly bestow upon them.

Next, I desire to be heard a word, in answer to that part of the Objection which arraigns the *Principles* of these Persons, as being so exactly fitted to introduce a Turkish Slavery among us. Now upon enquiry into this matter, I find these *Mahometan Principles* to be only such as these; *That the Persons of Princes are sacred and inviolable; That they Reign by the particular Authority and Interposition of the Divine Providence, and are not rudely to be assaulted by any private Aggressor, under the pretence of injury done; nor to be animadverted upon by the coercive Power of the Law, in detriment to their Persons; but that their Ministers who either advise them to, or execute their commands in illegal Matters, are only to be punished; That all our Speeches to them and of them*

*Church of  
England  
Principles  
as to Go-  
vernment  
vindicated*

## The Duty of Inferiours

*ought to be with respect and regard to their high Authority; That when they put the severest Laws in Execution against their Subjects, they are not to be resisted; and if Conscience will not suffer them to comply with any hard Law which he thinks fit to enforce, That they ought rather to suffer under it, than by a Rebellious Opposition to free themselves from it; And lastly, That for every Male-Administration, tho contrary to Law, Subjects ought not to right themselves by Tumults and Seditions, much less by Rebellions, and must not disturb the Publick Peace upon account of some private Hardships, or other Publick, if tolerable, Inconveniences.*

Now what, I pray, is there in these Principles that can render this Party of Men detestable, or make them such mere Bandittes and Raperees as their Adversaries are sometimes pleased to stile them? These Opinions do rather bespeak them to be of a good Humour and a Christian Spirit, and adapted to the peace and quiet of a Nation, as disposing them to be good Subjects and good Neighbours; whilst the contrary Sentiments do generally make Men to be sour and unfociable, proud and turbulent, to fill their Coun-  
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try with Jealousies and Discontents, and to blow up all about them into Tumults and Flames.

Well, but the Principle of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* is Intolerable, and Men who have been once tinctur'd with such an ill Opinion, can be no Friends to this Government.

As for the Extravagancies which some particular Men have been guilty of in this matter, I shall not take upon me to Apologize for. But this I say, that no one can disown this Doctrine who reads and believes his Bible, which positively asserts, that no lawful Power can lawfully be Resisted. And common Sense tells us as much. For Right can be but of one side; and if the Power which commands be Lawful, that which resists must be unlawful. For the supreme Power whenever it is lodged in every Nation, is absolute and uncontrollable, and therefore whatever it commands it obliges either to Obedience or Suffering. And in a limited Monarchy, when the Prince puts in Execution the force of

*passive Obedience a Christian Doctrine, and necessary to be inculcated in those times.*

of a severe Law, Persons that cannot comply with it, must suffer by it. This is *Passive Obedience*, and, as much as this Doctrine is made a Jest of, all the Laws in the World would be a Jest without it. For what signifies the making of a Law if no body were obliged to obey it ; or if Men might at any time take up Arms against their Governours rather than undergo the penalty of disobeying their Ordinances? If this were lawful, it is nonsense to talk of the Authority of Laws, for then there could be no Authority but downright Force, and Men could be obliged by nothing but by the compulsion of Dragoons and Executioners. Now if *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* be Christian Duties, and requisite Qualifications for every good Christian Subject ; I hope neither are the Doctrines themselves detestable, nor the Men for the Doctrines sake. If the heat of Opposition has made some Men stretch these Doctrines farther than they ought, and have brought them to support the Arbitrary Encroachments of Ambitious Princes, they have had opportunity enough to consider

sider and grow wiser. Tho I question whether any Man of Sense either now or then, could think that a Nation should ever be obliged to offer it self tamely up to the Ruffians of a *Nero* or *Caligula*, or some such other monster of Mankind, which they love to instance in. What Men might do to secure themselves from the barbarous Insults of such Salvage Princes, is no rule for taking up Arms against every Prince, which some Men may be disgusted at. *Caligula* has a mind to cut off all the Necks of the People of *Rome*, and the *Romans* ought to be so wise as not to let him. What then? Therefore I who have lost a great Place, may take up Arms against my lawful Sovereign, or if he will not part with a Favorite, or Pass a Bill which I have a mind he should; if he will put a severe Law in Execution; if he be tenacious of a Branch of his Prerogative, or be ill advised to stretch it too far; if he will not declare the Legitimacy of any Persons Succession which some People are fond of: therefore he must be compelled to act what we would have him, by a Conspiracy or a Rebellion.

lion. What Logick I pray is this? Had not the Clergy just reason to mind Men of their lawfull Subjection, and to inculcate the Duty of Obedience, when Men reasoned and acted after this rate? I am unwilling to revive a fresh memory of these things, but that the violence of some Men's Passions make it necessary to do it; and the prophane Jest which they break upon a Doctrine of Jesus Christ, I mean *Passive Obedience*, are in the highest degree provoking to every good Christian: and these particulars do shew, that if ever there was occasion for enforcing this Doctrine, it was at that time when the Government both in Church and State was threatned, insulted, and well-nigh invaded by a hot Party of Men. If the Clergy had not boldly told the People of their Duty at that exigence, they had betrayed the Trust committed to them, and they might with as little guilt have been silent (as 'twas observed some others were) when Popery talked so lowd among us.

It remains, that I Vindicate these *Those who maintain this Doctrine good Friends to the present Government.* Persons from one Imputation more, and that is, That their Principles will not suffer them to be true Friends to the present Government. But I would fain know why a good peaceable Church-man, who pays his Duty to his King out of Principle of Conscience, should not love him as heartily and obey him as faithfully, as those other Persons who own no other Obligation, than what an ordinary Contract binds them to. The one's Obligation sits loose upon him, whenever any contest arises between the Prince and his Subjects, whilst the other never pleads a Liberty at the expence of Duty, but thinks that the respect which God Almighty has commanded to be paid, cannot be vacated by any ordinary human Considerations. Is not a Man a better Subject who think himself obliged to bear a few Hardships, rather than disturb the Publick Peace; than one whose Principles put him upon Mutining and drawing of Swords, upon every little Miscarriage, which the best Government cannot always be without? Nay all true Sons of the

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Church of *England* must bear as grateful Resentments to his present Majesty, for his delivering from Popery, as the Men of any other party among us: For they who under that Oppression had a greater stake to lose, may naturally be supposed to have as much thanks to pay. And I think they have not been wanting upon any occasion to express it. For their chearful Contributing to carry on this late expensive War, and their ready offering their Persons in defence of their King and Country, is no sign of their being backward in their Duty this way. If there be any who pretend to be Sons of the Church, whose actions are not conformable to this Rule, they have deserted the Principles of the Church of *England*, and are debauched by the poisoned Opinions of other People. For 'tis no matter what Church-men they have been in former times, if they are not subject for Conscience sake, if they do not *love, honour, and obey the King*, out of a Religious Principle, and with regard to God's Authority, they are, at present, neither good Church of *England* Men nor good Christians.

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The sum of what I have been shewing is this, That Government was not the *Invention of the People*, as the Atheists of old did maintain, but that the chief Parts of it were revealed by God to our antient Progenitors at the first Peopling of the World; who did instruct them in far lesser matters, such as making their Cloaths, and in other vulgar Arts, which were not so useful as the Rules of Government; who likewise revealed to them Religion, than which Government is not less necessary in this World, nor less difficult to be found out, and seems but a part of it, so that one cannot be kept up without the other; which revealed Rules of Polity seem to have took their beginning in *Adam's* time, as appears in the case of *Cain*, and a Tradition of it handed down to the Heathen World in the *Grecian* times: That the *Authority of Governours comes from God and not from the People*; because this is the express Doctrine of Scripture, because their Laws do oblige the Conscience, and because they are vested with the Power of Life and Death, which things the People had

## *The Duty of Inferiours*

not a Right of Granting : That *Princes and other supreme Governours are of Divine Right as they are designed to their Office, are preserved and assisted in it by a particular Act of the Divine Providence*, both because the holy Scriptures tell us so, and the Providence of God in Ruling the World does evince it, and the Opinions of the wisest Heathen Philosophers and Christian Divines confirm it. And lastly, That these Principles are not injurious to the Principles of a free Nation ; That God does particularly concern himself in the raising up and in the preservation of Princes more than in other affairs in the World ; That Monarchy was the first Form of Government, and first appear'd in Paternal Jurisdiction ; and that the Persons who espouse these Opinions are not such ill Men as they are misrepresented.

Thus I have given my Opinion upon these Matters, and my Reasons for it, and I would to God they may be well considered and laid to heart. I am sure it would make more for the peace and welfare of the Kingdom, if this Doctrine was firmly rooted in  
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the Heart of every Subject therein; for then every one would be more ready to perform his Duty towards the King and the Laws which he Administers; upon consideration that they have their Authority from God, and that Men are obliged in Conscience to obey them.

Since this Doctrine has been less insisted upon, and other Principles have been so much in vogue, a very unobserving Eye may take notice, how coldly our Duty to our Sovereign sits upon us, over it did in former times, and how little a Zeal we shew for our Monarchical Constitution, in comparison of what we did at a time when we had less reason to do it. This does not seem to bode the best Issue of our Affairs, especially when in a Monarchical Government, Republican Books are sent abroad into the World with so much boldness, and accepted with an equal greediness: Books fill'd with so much Virulency and Spight to the memory of some of our best Princes, and so nigh in Blood to our present King, with so many unhand-som Reflexions upon the Form of Govern-

*The Duty of Inferiours*

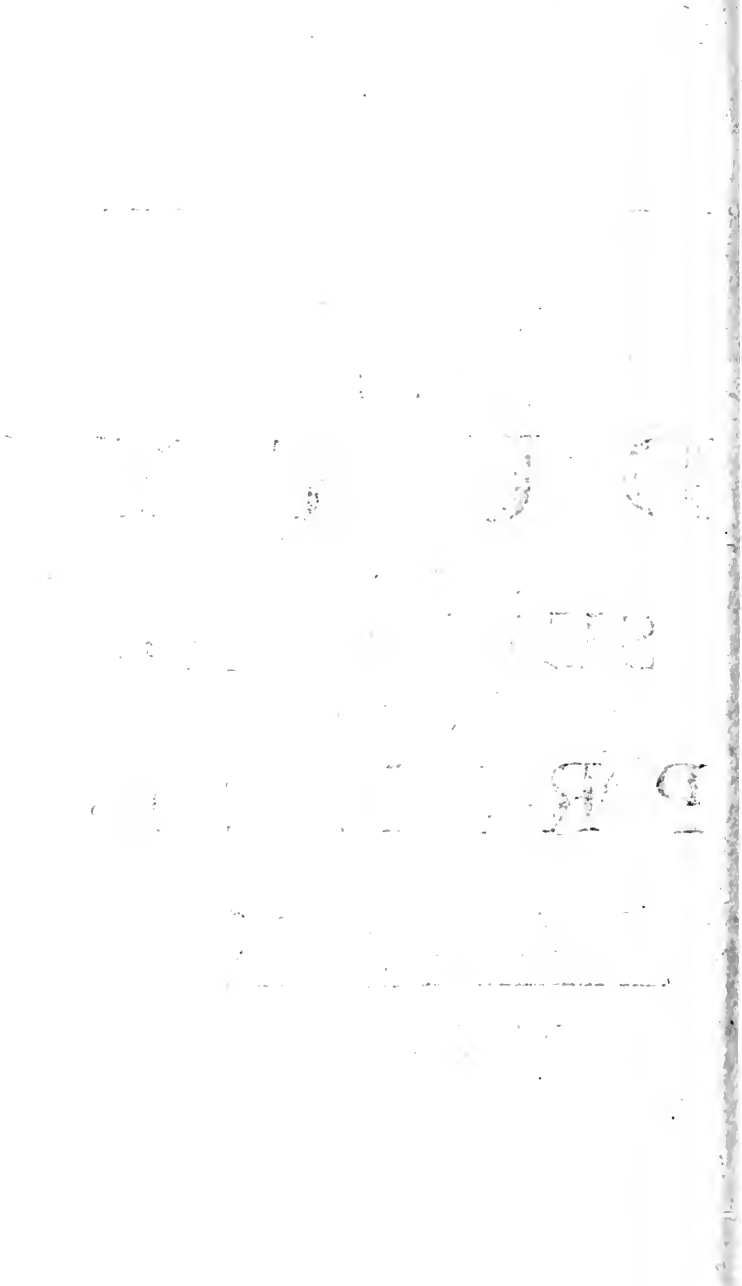
vernment we live under, and with such bare-fac'd Arguments for a Commonwealth, that the freedom of no Nation in the World but ours, would have suffered the like Insults upon its Constitution, as we have done. And if the boldness of these Men has prompted them to this, when we had very promising hopes of a long Succession of the Crown, in the nearest Branches of the Royal Blood, we may expect that these Men will be farther emboldned in their Attempts, since the unhappy stroke which Heaven has given us, in taking away the Life of our late incomparable young Prince.

But I earnestly pray to God to put it into the Heart of our Legislature, to take effectual Care for the defeating their ill Attempts by repairing this loss as far as may be, by the most prudent Methods their Wisdoms shall think fit, that future Generations may be Blessed with the same holy Faith and happy Form of Government which we at present enjoy.

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O F  
SUBJECTS,  
To their  
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The Duty of SUBJECTS  
TO THEIR  
PRINCE.

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Discourse I.

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Romans xiii. v.

*Wherefore ye must needs be Subject,  
not only for Wrath, but also for  
Conscience sake.*

THE Passages of this Chapter, by reason of some former Miscarriages, have been so little handled in the Pulpit of late; that it is something surprising to an Auditory now-a-days, so much as to hear them named there: But for all

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## Discourse I.

the Scoffs of Prophane and Seditious Spirits, it is a Christian Duty incumbent on us all, to pay a Conscientious Regard to the Authority God has set over us; which 'tis *St. Paul's* business to inculcate throughout the former part of this Chapter: And what the Apostle vouchsafes to write, we need not, I think, be ashamed to Preach. Now this Duty to Sovereign, and other subordinate Authority derived from That, the Apostle argues from several very excellent Topicks, and undeniably proves from them all, what Obligation Subjects have to obey and honour their Governours. This he proves from the Divine Original of Government, because *the Powers that be are ordained of God.* 2. From the eternal Punishment, without hearty Repentance, of those who disobey; *they that resist receive to themselves damnation.* 3. From their Temporal Punishment, and the usual Fate of Traitors and Mutineers, *he beareth not the sword in vain.* 4. He urges this Duty further, from the Usefulness of the Governour to secure us in our Just Rights against all Oppressors; because *he is the Minister to us for good, and an Avenger to execute Wrath upon him that doth evil:* And Lastly, to conclude all, He exhorts Christians not only to ground their Duty

Duty upon the *Wrath*, or Vindictive Power of the Magistrate, or upon any other Secular Motive; but to fix it chiefly upon the foot of Religion and Conscience, as the Command of Almighty God, as the Doctrine of our Blessed Lord, and a Rule of the wisest and most peaceable Institution that ever was in the World, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for Conscience sake.*

Now my Business at present shall not be, to state Nicely; How far Men are obliged to obey their Superiors when they act exorbitantly, or contrary to National Constitutions: What is the Supream Authority in a Country: How far Obedience is owing to the Legislative, and how far to the Executive Power: What are the Limits of Royal Prerogative or Popular Right, &c. Which are Political Disputes, which generally neither ly within our Province nor Capacity: I shall only lay down the Obligations which are incumbent upon us as Christians, and the Duties which we are charged to pay our Governours by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the Doctrines of his Apostles. This, I presume, the Office of our Ministry will bear us out with; and which totally to neglect, is to be wanting to our Duty.

But I shall not state our Obligations as due to Governors in general, but chiefly our Obligations to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince who governs us, which is the Source of all other subordinate Power; and to which, if we bear a Conscientious Regard, we shall not easily be wanting in our Respects to Inferiour Ministers, Therefore I shall shew

- I. The Duties we ow, as good Christian Subjects, to the Sovereign Authority of the Prince who Governs us.
- II. That these Duties are binding upon our Consciences, and that we commit very great Sins when we violate them.
- III. That unless they are paid out of a Principle of Conscience, they are seldom or never paid sincerely.

I. I shall shew what Duties we ought to pay, as good Christian Subjects, to the Prince who Governs us.

I. And First, We ought to obey him in all things commanded by him, *Obedience.* which are not repugnant to a Superiour Law. Indeed, our Duty does not oblige us to obey a Prince, who, by ill Suggestions, shall command us to violate any positive Command of GOD;

## *Discourse I.*

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as for instance, to partake in an Erroneous or Idolatrous Worship ; or if he should oblige us to transgress a Moral Duty, or to give our Assistance towards the Subversion of any of our Legal Rights, and to dispossess our selves of any just Freedom, which by the National Constitution we are intitled to. For then our Obedience would be a Crime ; for in the first Case, the Command of the Prince is superseded by that of Almighty God, and his Authority is disannull'd by a greater one, of Him by whom Princes reign : And in the latter Case, our Obedience is freed by the force of a Precedent Law, to which the Prince has given his solemn Consent, and in his Name has publicly commanded all his Subjects to obey it ; and therefore any other subsequent and private Order must give place to such an antecedent and publick Declaration of his Will. But in all other Cases, where the Field lies open, and our Duty is not prescribed by any previous or superiour Law ; when our Prince, *viz.* by his Royal Proclamations, Injunctions, or other legal ways, does give out such reasonable Commands as make for the good of his People in such manner as are agreeable to the Constitution of the Nation, and do not intrench upon the

Just Rights of his People, then the line of our Duty is to be set out by *his* Wisdom, which a good Subject will as readily comply with as he will with the Commands of a good and indulgent Father. But then more, especially we ought to pay him a ready Obedience, whilst either by himself, or his Ministers, he is executing the force of an *established Law*, which his own and the Wisdom of the National Council has thought fit to enjoin. And herein our Obedience must be hearty, and out of a sense of Conscience and Religion; not a cold and lifeless compliance for fear of the Penalty, not an endeavouring to shift and evade the force of the Law, not a murmuring and peevish discontent, when we are punished for the Neglect or Contempt of it; but an honest Resolution to discharge our Obligation to it, as far as we can; and whenever we happen to fail therein, to be sorry rather for our Transgression than for our Punishment. This is to be a true Christian Subject, this will make a Prince and a People happy; whilst on the other side a soothing up Princes in unwarrantable Incroachments, or saucy Demands and Mutinous Oppositions to them in their Legal Administrations, and a trampling upon good and wholesome

wholsome Laws in despite of a wise and good Prince, these will but tear a Nation into Pieces, and bring the most flourishing Government into Ruine and Confusion.

2. Another Duty which we owe to our Sovereign, is our constant Prayers to Almighty God for him. *Prayer for him.*

This is an Injunction of the Apostle, even when Princes were Heathens, and Persecutors of Christianity. *I exhort therefore, that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men: for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all godliness and honesty.*

1 Tim. 2. 1. Therefore we are to make it daily a part both of our Publick and Private Devotions; to put up our Petitions to the Throne of Grace for the Life, Health and Prosperity of our Prince; that God of his infinite Mercy would be pleased to defend him from the Assaults and Attempts of wicked and designing Men, that he would guard him from all the Temptations which that great Fortune is liable to; that he would give him Courage to conflict with those Dangers and Difficulties he must continually meet with; that he would inspire him with Wisdom to walk with the

exactest Prudence and Circumspection, in the Mazes of intricate Counsels, and perplexed Business; that he would arm him with Patience and Meekness to sustain the Toil and Fatigue of constant Care and Application, the balming up of Differences, and reconciling Factions in State, and bearing with the Oppositions and Humors of peevish and discontented Spirits; and lastly, That God would afford him such an assistance of his Holy Spirit, that his Life may be an eminent Example of Goodness and Holiness, and that by his Practice, he may adorn and recommend that admirable Religion, which the Infidels and Libertines of the Age do so ungraciously despise.

3. Another Duty which we owe to our Sovereign is, to assist him with *Paying Taxes*. our Persons and Estates whenever he hath need of them.

A Prince is not an all-sufficient Power, that can do all things independently of himself; but must be beholden to his Subjects to unite together with him to repel a common Danger, and to maintain a Security to himself and them. And therefore, in such Emergencies, they must either in their own Persons form themselves into Military Bodies, or provide the Prince with such

such Stipendiaries, as may maintain their Countries Rights against the Insults of powerful Enemies. And therefore upon such Exigencies, when Publick Danger threatens, and the Welfare of a Nation lies at stake, good Subjects cannot be backward to assist their Prince with sufficient Strength and Force to maintain their Liberties, and to raise out of their Estates an Income and Revenue to defray the expenses of a just and defensive War. And to do this unwillingly, is an instance of barbarous Ingratitude, both to our Prince, who defends us by the hazard of his Person or Dignity, and to those other brave Persons under him, who venture their own Lives to secure us ours. And what can we think we ought less to do, for our Share towards the Publick Security, than that we, for a small moiety of our Income, should sit peaceably under our own Vines, and enjoy at home Ease and Quiet; whilst others are fighting for us abroad, and wading through Blood and Slaughter, to purchase these Blessings for us?

4. Another Duty which we owe to our Sovereign is *Honour* or Respect.

The Apostle St. *Peter* recommends this to the Christians, as an especial Duty to be

be paid to their Princes, *Fear God, Honour the King*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. Where you may observe, he joins this Duty with the fear of God; as if none did sincerely fear God, but who did honour their Prince. For indeed, the Dignity of a King is the main Support of his Diadem; and to deprive him of this is in a manner to dethrone him. Without this he is but like the Royal Robes, upon Wax-work, which every little Body will make bold with. And therefore those ill Men, who make it their business to wound a Prince in his Reputation, do act the next barbarous act of injustice to them who attempt to assassinate his Person. And indeed, to all brave Princes, this is more dear to them than their Lives; because there is no living in Royal State without it; and seldom either the good Opinion or Obedience of the Vulgar, is any longer retained, than the outward Marks of the Majestick Honour are glaring in their Eyes. Upon this account the Law of God, and the Customs of all Nations have fenced in the Royal Majesty with this Guard; which it is the Duty of every good Christian, and honest Subject to keep up. Therefore 'tis an Obligation incumbent upon us, to pay our Prince all that outward

ward Respect, which the Grandeur of that August Character requires ; never to be guilty of any Word or Action, but what does bespeak the greatest Veneration and Esteem for him : Nay, farther, to conceive the highest Opinion we possibly can of him in our Minds, and to despise those malicious Calumnies, which angry and designing Men are wont to throw upon the best of Princes ; never to be the Relaters, or indeed the patient Hearers of any opprobrious Reflection of this nature ; upon all Occasions to check the Venters of this wicked sort of Ware ; which in a while would keep them from spreading much further than the vile Authors of them.

5. Another Duty owing to our Sovereign is *Love*. This is a Duty which we owe to all Men, as they *Love*. partake of the same common Nature with us, and especially to all Christians, who profess the same Faith, and hold the same Communion. But, in other nigher Relations, Nature it self does quicken this Affection in us, and gives our Souls a particular Bent and Tendency to those Things, and Persons, she would have us to love. Our Affections are powerfully inclined towards our Parents and our Children ; we conceive a pleasing Delight,

light, whenever we think of the Place where we were born, of the Community or Nation we belong to, and of the Prince who governs us. Men who do not find these Inclinations in their Natures, have Souls of a monstrous and irregular Mold, are poisoned by ill Principles, or soured by Discontent, or Disappointments: For naturally all Men have an inexpressible Love and Dearness for their Prince: a secret and unconceivable Pleasure runs thro' their Souls, upon every new Addition to his Welfare and Happiness; they condole with him in every Uneasiness, they pride themselves in his Successes, and triumph with him in his Glories. A remarkable Instance of this, we have in many poor Exiles among us; who after the loss of their Estates, their Country, and every thing in this World, which is near and dear to them; after all this unmerciful Treatment, they are never able to obliterate their Love to their Natural Prince, and cannot but retain kind Thoughts of him, in the midst of their hardest Sufferings. And methinks this should be a Shame to many of this Nation, to see among us so much Coldness and Heartlessness of Affection in some, and that others should have barbarously sought the Blood of that Prince  
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which has been the greatest Friend and Patron to this Nation in the World ; that has rescued our Liberties, and Religion, from the most violent Inroad, and foulest Superstition ; that continues an unwearied Application to support the Welfare and Honour of our Country ; that studies all Opportunities not only to defend, but how to please his People. Now for Men not to return back again their Love, for all this excessive Love and Kindness ; but to retain our Resentments, under the Influence of so much obliging Goodness, and out of mistaken, or rather peevish Principles, to refuse Submission to, or to Cabal against his Government, or by any Means to endeavour to weaken his Interest in the Nation, after he has been so gracious a Deliverer of it ; this is an Ungratitude of so foul a Complexion, that methinks Men should be ashamed to reflect upon ; and to persist in it, would be to forfeit that Character of Good Nature, which this Nation is particularly remarkable for.

I now come to the Second Thing I laid down, to shew :

II. That these Duties to our Prince, are binding upon our Consciences ; and that  
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we commit very great Sins; when we violate them.

1. Because all these Duties are commanded by, or founded upon  
*This prov'd from* God's Word. Our Obedience to our King is recommended to us by St. Peter, beseeching us earnestly to it, for the sake of our blessed Saviour, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, 1 Pet. 2. 13.* St. Paul denounces, against Disobedience and Rebellion, no less a Punishment than eternal Damnation, *For they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* To pray for the King is enjoined by St. Paul, in his First Epistle to Timothy, *1 Tim. 2. 1.* and to pay Taxes to him, *Rom. 13. 6.* *For this cause therefore pay Tribute also, &c. Render therefore to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute, Custom to whom Custom, &c.* Our blessed Saviour himself, rather than be defective in paying his Tax, put himself to the expence of a Miracle to raise it. And what Opinion God has of those, who are defective in their Honour to their Prince, may be known from his noting these Crimes as belonging to Men of the vilest Character,  
*these*

these despise Dominion, and speak evil of Dignities, Jude 8. And we find that St. Paul is startled, out of Apprehension he had fell into this sin, *Because it is written thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People, Acts 23, 5.* Now whatever Atheists and Infidels may pretend, for their neglect of their several Duties to their Prince, Men that own the Gospel of Jesus Christ are inexcusable; as acting contrary to the express Command of God, and being wanting in their Duty to that Authority, to which he expects from them so great a Veneration and Regard.

2. These Duties to our Prince are binding upon our Consciences, because they are to be paid to an Authority which is of Divine Original. If a King be set over us by God Almighty, then God Almighty does expect we should Honour and Obey him, and pay him those other Duties before mentioned, and consequently, whenever we violate these Duties we sin against God; unless we can be so silly to suppose, that God Almighty has set a King over us, upon all occasions to be opposed, injured and affronted, and has afforded him a share of the Divine Authority for Men to trample upon. The conse-

*From the divine Original of Government.*

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quence of this is undeniable to those who allow the Divine Right of Princes, for they must needs retain an awful regard to their Sovereign; and make a Conscience of obeying him in all lawful things, when they are verily perswaded, that he has his Commission from the great God of Heaven and Earth; and that he is vested in his Authority by the particular Interposition of the Divine Providence. *Obj.* But it may be said, "That this is very true upon a certain Supposition; but how is that Supposition of the Divine Right of Princes to be proved? And one would think that the *Jure Divino* Doctrine had been too much laughed at of late, in haste to be set up again. *Ans.* This Doctrine, in the main, may not be the less true, for being laughed at by some sort of men; for the Bible it self has been laughed at by too many, and yet, I presume, it may not be the worse for that. Now I don't assert a *Jus divinum* of Princes, in opposition to any other form of Government; as if God Almighty had no manner of share in, or regard for their Authority, which is a very groundless, and a very ill-natur'd Fancy. But I say, Unless the Authority of the Prince, and all other supreme Authority in a Nation whatsoever be of Divine Right, there is no tolerable

tolerable sense to be put upon an hundred Texts of Scripture which might be brought to this purpose. What else can be the meaning of those Passages, *By me Kings reign? That God setteth up one, and pulleth down another?* Nay, 'tis impossible that words can be more expresse to this purpose, than what St. Paul says at the beginning of this Chapter, *There is no power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God,* Rom. 13.

I. Now if to be of God, to be ordained of God, and to be the ordinance of God, does not signifie to be of Divine Right and Institution, I do not know what the meaning of any words is. But let me ask of those Gentlemen, who are wont to laugh at the Divine Right of Princes and Governments, if they own any thing of Divine Providence in the World? For the Divine Right of Princes is demonstrably, I think, proved upon supposition that there is a Divine Providence. For if the Providence of God does display it self in lesser Matters in the World, which do not so much conduce to the Benefit of Mankind, and the Welfare and Order of things which God has constituted; most certainly, it is most peculiarly concerned in placing

cing Princes upon the Throne, upon whom so Momentous an Interest does depend. If there is not the meanest living Creature produced, if there is not a Spire of Grass grows up, or a shower of Rain descends, (in which there is so small a matter of good accrues to the World) without the direction of God's Providence: Most certainly there is a more particular Interposition of the same, in disposal of Crowns, and the setting up of Princes, upon which the Welfare of so many thousand of Subjects is bottom'd. Therefore I say, if we will not allow Princes to have a Divine Right, not only for their Authority in general, but a particular Interposition of Providence for their placing upon the Throne, and preserving them there; we must exclude the Providence of God from other lesser matters; and so we shall run into the Follies either of the *Epicurean* Chance, or the Atheistical Fatality. For if there be a Providence in the World, it is unreasonable to confine it only to Herbs and Flies, and such other mean Creatures; and to let it have no share in the Government of Mankind, the Noblest Part of all the Creation. *Obj.* Well! but Crowns are often disposed of by the Determination of Human Laws, or the Inclinations of a People,

ple, and how is a Divine Right reconcilable with these Methods? To which I answer, That this is not the only Instance of God's Providence making use of Secondary Causes. Is a Man therefore the Principal Cause of a Tree, because he plants it? Does a Father make his Son, because he begets him? No, there is a Superiour Cause, which makes use of these inferior Instruments for the furthering his wise Purposes: Or, tho' the Laws of a Country, or the Consent of a People disposes of a Crown, yet these are only the subordinate Agents of an all-wise God; the great Circle of whose over-ruling Providence makes all the lesser Wheels of Their Determinations, to fall in with, and to be subservient to his most wise and fore-contrived Designs. So that upon the whole, Princes are set upon their Thrones by Almighty God; and when we do not obey them, and respect them, as we ought, we offend against that Authority which placed them there.

3. These Duties are binding upon our Consciences, because the neglect of them has as much Moral Obliquity, as any other Crimes.

*From the Moral Obliquity of the Neglect.*

The Moral Obliquity or Turpitude of any Sin does increase, according to the Disturbance it gives to the Order God has established in the World, and the Mischief it does to Society. And therefore, upon this account, Murder and Theft are every where lookt upon as Enormous Crimes; because they are the occasion of so much Injustice in a Community, and do overturn that Regular Order upon which the Peace of Mankind is grounded. Now, for the same, or greater reasons, every breaking in upon our Duty to our Governours, is a most grievous Crime; because this does, in a more special manner, disturb the Peace of Mankind. If a single Murder is an enormous Crime, because it deprives a Man of his Life, and the Community of a Member: Rebellion does sweep away whole Sholes of our Fellow-Creatures, and does sometimes, in a manner, depopulate a Nation. If Theft be a sin, because it defrauds our Neighbour of his Right; for the same Reason, Rebellions and Seditions are much more so; for these Ravage a Country with Rapine and Plunder, and fill every place with Ruine and Confusion. In short, all Contumelious Reflections upon, and all disrespectful Behaviour to our Prince are therefore very great Crimes, because

cause they occasion a general Mischief in a Nation, and diffuse such an Epidemical Contagion thro' a Country, as no one can tell where it will stop. Other Sins do but here and there affect some particular Members of a Community; but these, like Plagues and Inundations, destroy whole Countries before them; They poison the Principles of good Subjects, destroy Friendship among Neighbours, make the nearest Relations Enemies to one another, disturb good Men with unreasonable Fears and Jealousies, fill City and Country with Tumults and Seditions, and oftentimes, in the end, turn the most peaceable and flourishing Nations into Aceldema's and Fields of Blood. Therefore, if Men have any Conscience in them, if they have any sense of Morality and Religion, if they have any Tenderness to their Native Country; they should take great care how they are guilty of any of these sins, which draw such a train of Miseries and Mischiefs after them. I now come to the Third and last thing I am to shew.

III. That unless these Duties are paid to a Prince, out of Principle of Conscience, they are seldom or never paid sincerely: For the Proof of which I shall shew.

1. That those other Principles besides Religion, which Men may ground their Duty to their Prince upon, do render them for the most part at the Bottom unfaithful and unsincere.

2. That a Man who Obeys or Serves His Prince out of Principle of Religion, cannot but do it faithfully and heartily.

1. That those other Principles besides Religion, which Men may  
*Uncertainty of* ground their Duty to their  
*wicked Mens* Prince upon, do render Men  
*Obedience.* for the most part, at the Bottom unfaithful and in-sincere.

Suppose in the first place, *Ambition* is the Spur which puts a Man upon being Dutiful and Serviceable to his Prince ; how long will this keep him in his Duty ? Indeed, whilst his Prince gives him either the Hopes, or especially the Possession of an Honourable Post ; whilst his Fancy is pleased with the glories of a great Station, and he can feed his Pride by despising others, and being admired himself ; he is then top-full of Duty, and Obsequiousness to his Royal Master : But let his Royal Master take him down but one Step from the Pinnacle of Honour, or but disappoint his further Hopes ; and for all his former  
 won-

wonderful Respect, he will become his most enraged and spiteful Enemy.

Let a Mans Duty be grounded upon *Covetousness* or *Interest*, and perhaps the Prince may be sure of him as long as he feeds him; whilst he can fill his Coffers and raise his Family, he is one of the First in all Services and Respects; but let the Prince once withdraw his Bountiful Hand, or settle another in that Advantageous Place, and then you may see how poor a Thing his unrewarded Loyalty is, and how small his Duty, when 'tis no longer gainful.

Or if Mens Duty to their Prince be founded upon *Zeal to a certain Party, or Faction in the State*; if they be ready to pay all Honour and Service to him, because they may imagine he is a Favourer of their Faction; let a Prince but once dispence his Favours to those of the other side, and then these Men of Zeal are lost for ever; and then all the loud Encomiums they rung out upon him before, shall be turned into the keenest Invectives.

Or supposing this Duty be founded upon *Honour*, and that Men scorn to do any thing unhandsome towards a Person of that Dignity, that they cannot stoop to betray a reposed Trust, or to Violate their

given Faith to their KING: But this is no longer, than when they are not tempted with something which will not Work stronger upon them than Honour can, and they have no Incitation from Ambition, Covetousness, or Revenge. Or if Men Establish their Duty to their Prince upon Republican, or rather Atheistical Principles, found all their Obedience only upon Pact and Contract, without any regard to the *Divine Authority*; if they Fancy their Duty is not owing to their KING, because GOD has set him over them, but because they have struck a Bargain with him; whenever they are disobliged, they will be always taking occasion to insult and resist him, and look upon him not as Gods Vicegerent, but meerly as their own Creature.

2. That Man who Obeys his Prince out of a Principle of Conscience and Religion, cannot but do it faithfully and heartily.

Now this good Mans Obedience is not grounded upon humane Passions and Interest, which having no fixt Foundation to rest upon, are as variable as the Wind and Weather; but is settled upon the firmer Basis of Gods Word, upon the Hopes  
of

of Heaven, and the fears of Hell, and therefore dares not do any thing Disobedient, or Dishonorable to his Prince ; not for fear he shall loose any Temporal Interest by it, but for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Almighty God, and ruining his own Soul. Let a Prince place this Man in the Noblest Station of Trust and Honour, and he will discharge his Duty with Diligence, and with Conscience : And whenever His Sovereign thinks fit to take back the Employ which he has intrusted him with, he resigns it with the same good Thoughts of him, wherewith he First took it up ; and preserves to his Grave a Duty and Affection, tho' unrewarded, as hearty and sincere, as if he had met with the greatest Encouragment. In short, He will pay him a dutiful Respect and Obedience ; not only in the Face of a Court, but in the meanest Obscurity, and will be as ready to assist him in Adversity, as well as in Prosperity.

Let us therefore all make it our Endeavours, to pay our bounded Duties to our Sovereign Lord ; Let us Obey him, Pray for him, and in his Exigencies assist him ; Let us Honour him, and Love him ; and this out of Conscience and Religion ;  
and

and let not any bad Principles lessen our Duty and Affections towards him. If ever any Prince did deserve Excess of Love and Duty, it is he that hath done so much for us ; and if ever Disobedience and Undutifulness were Crimes, they will be the greatest ones against a KING so good, and so deserving from us. *Therefore we must needs be Subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake.*

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The Duty of CHILDREN  
TO THEIR  
PARENTS.

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Discourse II.

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Coloss. iii. xx.

*Children Obey your Parents in all  
Things, for this is well pleasing  
unto the Lord.*

**I**N this unhappy and degenerate Age, not only the most sacred and strongest Ties of our Duties are broken and violated by wicked Men; but many stand in open defiance to them upon Principle, and by pernicious Arguments, endeavour to

to vindicate the shamefulneſs of their Practice. Some that they may with a better Colour blaſpheme, revile and diſobey God, deny his Being ; others, that they may more uncontrollably wallow in ſenſuality, Diſpute his Providence ; ſome to vindicate their Injuſtice, deny a Moral difference of Good and Evil ; ſome take away all Duty to Governours, as grounded upon Conſcience and Religion ; and others trample upon, and by wicked Principles enervate the ſacred and inviolable Obligations of Children to Parents, that are grounded upon ſuch Eternal Reaſons, are backt by the moſt powerful bent of Nature, and required of us, with the greateſt earneſtneſs by God ; and inſtead thereof, are pleaſed to found them upon the weak and ſhallow bottom of I know not what tacit Compact between the Father and the Child. Such prevailing wickedneſs and Infidelity, has put thoſe of our Calling upon an unuſual Task, and forced us ſometimes to go to prove thoſe things, which all Religions and Nations have ever look't upon as uncontroverted. Heretofore, it was ſufficient to enforce a Moral Duty to prove it from Gods Word : But now, nothing almoſt will down, but what is drawn from Philoſophy and Reaſon ;

son ; and a Divine can hardly be thought to clear a Point, unless he vouchsafes to Answer all the silly Objections of the Atheists against it. But however, this obliges us more frequently to inculcate these Duties among those we have the charge of, that when-ever they meet with such poisonous Principles, and such pestilential Examples, they may be the better armed and provided against them. And therefore, I have chose these Words of the Apostle to Discourse upon, which do lay down the Command to Children of obeying, or paying filial Duty to their Parents : *Children Obey your Parents in all things ; as also the Reason for so doing, this is well pleasing unto the Lord.* By *obeying Parents in all things*, is not Understood, The doing things which are unlawful, but the doing all the Parts of the filial Duty ; for under Obedience, all the other Branches of it as Love, Reverence, &c. are included : Now I shall,

I. Lay down the Particulars of the Duty of Children to Parents.

II. Shew this Duty is so well pleasing to God.

I.

I. I shall lay down the Particulars of the Duty of Children to Parents. Whereof the

1. Is *Love*. This is not only a Duty, but a Natural Instinct, and  
*To love them.* God Almighty has not only Commanded us to this, but has in a manner forced us to it, by such a powerful Inclination of our Natures, as nothing but inveterate wickedness, and barbarous inhumanity can overcome : For what Person that retains any thing of the common tenderneſs of our Humane Nature, that is not perfectly degenerated into a ſalvage Cruelty, can be wanting in Love to theſe Relations, that he is ſo Infinitely beholding to, who brought him into the World, and helped to confer a Being upon him ; who ſofterd and cheriſhed him in his tender Age, and defended him from innumerable harms, which did on all ſides, in that ſtate of Imbecility, ſurround him, who have continued to bring him up to the ſtate of Manhood by a ſuitable Education, who have ſeaſoned his Soul with Pious Admonitions and Inſtructions, and leſſened their own Revenue to procure him a comfortable Subſiſtence in the World ? For Men to be wanting in their Love to their Parents after all this, is to become Brutes, and to put on a Ferity

Ferity which debases Mankind below the worst of Beasts.

2. Honour and Respect is another Particular of the Duty we owe them. This is that which is so frequently inculcated in Scripture, *Exod.* 20.12. *Mat.*

*To Honour them.*

15. 4. 19.19. *Ephes.* 6.2. And it does denote all outward and inward Respect that is to be paid unto them. To have the kindest thoughts we possibly can of them, to have a regard to their Wisdom, from the Maturity of their Age and Experience in the World; to cover over, and put the best constructions upon their Failures, and to bear with their Infirmities, which sometimes by their Imprudence, or the weakness of Old Age they may fall into. And so on the other side, to pay them the outward Tokens of Respect, which by the Custom of our Country are usually paid to those we have a Veneration for; to rise up at their approach, which *Rachel* acknowledges her Duty, *Gen.* 31. 35. to bespeak them with Reverence and Submission, as the Son in the Gospel, *I go Sir, Matth.* 21.30. to bow, kneel to them, and the like; with all other acts which may denote our high  
Reverence

Reverence and Esteem we bear them. Nor is this Reverential Regard to be lessened, tho' by the Advantage of our greater Parts, or more Learned Education, our Wisdom be improved beyond that of our Parents; for still that does not lessen the Natural Superiority, nor the Gratitude we owe them; and there is a Blessing which God has deposited in the hands of all good Parents, which we ought with Reverence to expect, and from which we may hope to prosper more than from the Assistance of our greatest Natural Abilities. Much less ought the Poverty of our Parents to take off this Esteem; For how should these great Ties of Nature, and strict Commands of God be superseded by any Secular Greatness, or give place to the little Vanities of this World? Nay, this is the most ungenerous Treatment, and the foulest Ungratitude which a Man can be guilty of: With what a burning Shame must a Man reflect upon himself, when he considers that he despises his Parents because they are in a meaner Condition than himself, when he knows at the same time that they might have him too in the same circumstances? Do those good and kind Parents deserve to be despised, who notwithstanding the littleness of their Fortunes,

tunes, have strained themselves, and perhaps injured the rest of their Family, to give a Son an extraordinary Education, and raise him above the Level of their Relations, and shall he make them the ungracious return of slighting and despising them for it? Unless daily Experience shewed us that there were many such Instances to be found in the World, considering the detestable wickedness, the evil ungratitude, and the strange Folly too of this Practice; one would think there should be more Monsters born into the World than such ungracious Children.

3. Another Particular of our Duty to Parents is, to take their *Advice* and *Consent* in matters of Difficulty and Importance. *To take their Advice.*

Children by having had less Experience in the World than their Parents, who have lived longer in it, cannot be supposed to judge so well what is fitting to be done in difficult matters, as they; and therefore these ought in reason to consult with their Parents, when such Difficulties and Matters of Concern arise, who are best able to Determine about them, and withall have such a Love for them, that they will be sure to Advise  
C
them

them to what they think best. Therefore upon an Enterprize of Marriage, or betaking ones self to a Calling, or the like ; young Persons, ought in all Reason and Prudence, to take their Parents Consent and Advice ; not only that by this, they may retain the good Will and Blessing of their Parents, and a more plentiful Provision from them ; but also, least they of their own Heads, do filily make a choice, which they may for ever after repent of, and which their Parents Prudence might have prevented. And this we find to be the Practice among good People in Scripture ; as particularly of *Isaac*, *Gen.* 24. 26. and *Jacob*, *Gen.* 28. 1. And indeed, it is but just and reasonable, that those who are the Head of a Family, should give their Consent for any new Person, or Wife, to be introduced into it : And that those from whom the Children do expect their whole Maintenance and Provision, should agree to what Calling they apply themselves. This is a Duty inviolably to be observed by all Children, unless their Parents would tyrannically force them to such unagreeable Proposals as they have a Natural abhorrency of, or would bring them up to such mean Employes, as would be a Disgrace to their Birth. But in other Cases  
to

to flight and neglect the Parents Counsel and Consent, when they Act with Kindness and Prudence in their Childrens behalf, is a very great Breach of the filial Duty; and those who will be Guilty of it (to qualifie a silly Fancy or stubborn Humour) can never expect Gods Blessing to go along with their undertaking. For there is such a Blessing does accompany a Dutiful Compliance with the Parents Advice, and such a Curse upon a stubborn Refusing to be determined by their Prudence, that (make the Observation where you will) of those Persons who run away from the Employments they were fixt in by their Parents, or Marry against their Consent, where there is one that does tolerably well, there are a Thousand who are ruined and undone.

4. *Obedience* is another Particular of our Duty to Parents: Parents have a Natural Right and Sovereignty over their Children, which God Almighty by the Order of Nature has given them, and therefore Children, as a sort of Domestick Subjects under their Power, ought to Obey them. Mr. *Hobbs* and his Followers are mightily loth to allow this Obedience and Filial Subjection to proceed from God, but rather

ther are willing to ground it upon a tacit Contract of the Child with its Parents in the time of its Infancy, when it did stipulate with the Father and Mother, that in case they did Educate it, and not destroy it when it was in their Power so to do, it would henceforth agree to be Subject, and pay Obedience to its Parents upon that Condition. But this is a sorry ground for Parental Authority, and Filial Obedience, to found them only in the *Power* of the Parent; for by the same rule, that the Son owes Obedience to the Father, upon account that he has, or had Power enough to destroy the Son, the Father at some other time might be obliged to pay Subjection to his Son, when the Son grows stronger than the Father, and it lies in his Power to Mischief or Destroy him. If that they say, This would be Ingratitude, to be Disobedient after a kind Education, or Injustice not to stand to this Tacit Compact; I answer, that the Men of these Principles, whatever they Talk, make a Jest of these and all other Vertues, and own no Rule of their Actions, but self Love and Interest; and when it shall be Advantageous to them to be Disobedient to their Parents, they will run over an hundred of these silent Bargains. I forbear to mention the  
wicked

wicked and unnatural Consequences, which some *Libertines* draw from this Principle, which were a considerable Argument for all sober Persons not to be found in Espousing it ; but however, it is contrary not only to Reason and Religion, but even to common Sense. For every one observes, and feels a Natural Law and Instinct to pay Obedience to his Parents ; it is delightful to him, when it is duly performed, and gives a peculiar uneasiness and remorse of Conscience, when he Reflects upon the neglect of it. In short, the Obeying, Honouring, and other Duties to Parents, with the other Reciprocal Duties of Parents to their Children, are the only Laws of Nature which can in a proper manner be said to be inscribed ; for as for other Duties, Men are convinced of their Obligation from the consideration of their Reasonableness, or by Catechetical Instruction, or from common Applause ; but these, Nature her self binds on fast upon us, by such Ties as Men can hardly break, till by poison'd Principles, or an inveterate Habit of Wickedness, they cast off these and all other Religion together. For as long as Men retain any Religion and Godliness, they will be Dutiful and Obedient to their Parents, for they can ne-

ver have the least pretence to a Holy and Religious Life, when they live in the neglect of a Duty, which the Scripture does every where with so much strictness Command ; and Nature it self does with so great an Instinct prompt us to.

If it be asked, *How far this Obedience to Parents do extend?* I Answer, In our Minority, when we are under our Parents Care, we ought absolutely to Obey their Commands without reserve, unless they be contrary to God's Word, or carry in them a manifest absurdity or impossibility, or are grounded upon Mistake, or the like. But after we are grown up, and we are at our own Disposal, their Commands do not so strictly bind us, when they Command us any thing contrary to our Interest and Welfare, which then we our selves are the proper Judges of ; but even then, our Duty binds us to avoid every thing, as far as may be, that we know will be displeasing to them ; for tho' they have no Absolute Authority at that time to controul our Actions, yet by our Duty and Affection, we are bound not to grieve and offend them, when we may avoid it.

5. Another Particular of our Duty to Parents is, *Maintenance when they stand in need of it*, and all other Assistance we can give them under their Calamities or Infirmities. *To Maintain them in Want.* For this is paying the Interest Debt, which in the whole Compass of Nature we can possibly Contract. For when they have formerly relieved Us in our Wants and Extremities; and in our tender Age have provided us with Conveniencies, which we could not for our imbecility help our selves to ; it is but reasonable, that when God has altered both our Circumstances, and made them stand in need of our Assistance, that we to the utmost of our Power should pay off our Debt, and be as kind and serviceable to them, as they have been to us. And if we consider all the kind Offices they have done us, with how bountiful a Hand they have fed and cloathed us, and even prided themselves in doing things pleasing to us ; a Maintenance in their Indigence, will appear but a small Return for their Kindness. And to Minister to them in their Sickness, and to be Serviceable to them under any other Infirmities, is the least that we can do, in way of Return for their constant Care and Trouble in our Education ; for their ma-

ny watchful Nights, and solicitous Days upon our Account, and doing for us many painful, expensive, and uncomfortable Offices, which none but They would have done for us. The repaying this Debt to our Parents, has appeared to all Nations so Necessary, and so strong a Duty, that those who have neglected it, have always been reputed meer Monsters, and Prodigies amongst Mankind. The Apostle says of those, who do not Provide for *those of their own House*, ( tho' at a farther distance than Parents ) *are worse than Infidels*, 1 Tim. 5. 8. And I remember that *Theophrastus*, in his Character of a wicked, graceless Fellow, who is past all shame, and describing several of such a Mans impudent and scandalous Actions, as his not minding to be openly catch'd in a Theft; that he can live with as little Concern in the Common Jail as at Home; can be a Knight of the Post, or keep a Brothel-House, &c. To all this impudent Scene of Wickedness, he adds one Stroke more, to paint out this compleat Villain, which is this, *ὅτι μήτεα μὴ ἰσχύει, That he will not afford a Maintenance to his Mother.*

I come now to shew,

II. How this Duty is so well pleasing to God. Now

Now there are Two things in this Duty of *Honouring our Parents*, which render it well pleasing to God, and those are, 1. The Excellency of this Vertue; and 2dly, The Reasonableness of it: For the Divine Nature cannot but be well pleased with those things which are good and reasonable; because they resemble in this, Two of his chiefest Attributes, his Wisdom and Goodness.

1. Therefore I shall shew the *Excellency* of paying the Due Honour to our Parents; and that for these following Reasons:

1. *Because this shews an Excellent Temper of Mind, and Braveness of Spirit.*

If we reflect upon most of the Heroical Personages so celebrated in Antiquity, we

*Greatest Men  
the most dutiful  
Sons.*

shall find one of their most Remarkable Vertues to be *Piety to their Parents*. The great *Æneas*, the Founder of the Roman Race, will be for ever Famous for his carrying his Aged Father on his Back thro' the Flames of burning *Troy*. And *Virgil* thought he could not give him a greater Title than *Pius Æneas*, the *dutiful Æneas*. *Epaminondes*, that most valiant and wise Prince of *Thebes*, and Pattern to all good

good Governours, did most solemnly declare, 'That the greatest pleasure he took 'upon his Famous Victory over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*, was, because he 'enjoy'd this Honour when Both his Parents were alive to partake of it. The extraordinary Respect which *Alexander the Great* bore to his Mother *Olympias* is known to all who have read his Story; and we find some of his famous Successors, the *Ptolomies*, those Great Kings of *Ægypt*, to have prided themselves for this Natural Affection, and to have looked upon it as a special Title of Honour to them; one of them stiling himself, *Philopater*, the lover of his Father, another *Philometor*, the lover of his Mother. But above all, the Example of the Brave General *Coriolanus*, is the most remarkable: He having long and well deserved of the *Roman* State, but endeavouring to restrain some Popular Exorbitances, was by a Faction of the People expelled the City, he betakes himself to the Prince of the *Volsci*, who thereupon makes him the General of his Army; and he, partly out of Gratitude to his new Master, and partly out of just Resentments to the Factious City, makes the *Romans* pay dearly for their Contempt: He conquers them where-ever they engage with

with him, and takes from them all the Towns in *Italy*, which they had been above 250 Years in getting; confines their whole Power within the single City of *Rome*, and had drawn his Army within Five Miles of that; the terrified Citizens sent out Ambassadors several times to intreat him, which he did as often with Contempt send back; nor took more Notice of their Priests, which, with all their holy Robes and Ornaments, were ordered to beg Peace of him; but when at last his Aged Mother *Vetruvia* came a Suppliant into his Camp in behalf of the *Roman* People, he did that for her sake which he denied to all others; he forthwith marched his Army out of the *Roman* Territories, and put a stop to the Ravages which they were then committing, and for her sake gave Peace to *Rome*. I need not mention any other Instance after this, unless it be that of our Blessed Lord, who tho' he was the Prince of Glory, and the Eternal Son of the Almighty God, yet condescended so far to partake of Human Affections, as to set Men an Example of this Vertue, by being *Subject to his Natural Parents*, *Luke 2. 51.* and by paying them a respectful Duty, notwithstanding his infinite Dignity and Superiority otherways  
over

over them : And it is remarkable, that in the midst of his Sufferings upon the Cross, when he was oppress'd by all that wonderful Pain and Grief, and had the momentous Concerns of the Redemption of the World, and an infinite Satisfaction upon him ; yet he was not wanting to shew a Token of his Love and Affection to his Dear Mother, the Blessed Virgin ; but, under all these direful Sufferings, recommended her to the Care and Protection of his beloved Disciple St. John, John 19. 27.

2. *Because those who are drespe&ful to their Parents, are generally people of the basest Temper, and most wicked Inclinations.*

*Base People  
most guilty  
of this Vice.*

You shall seldom see any one that has had but a Generous Education, who is notoriously guilty of a defect in this kind. Their very good Breeding does, in some measure, keep them within the Bounds of their Filial Duty, and gives their Consciences a check whenever they are tempted to transgress these Broad Lines of Nature. The most Scandalous Instances of this Sin are, for the most part, found among People of a base Education, whose Souls are tinctur'd with no Sense of Honour, and who have as little of Reputation,

tion, as they have of Conscience. And you shall seldom see any Children which are faulty this way, but they are of a sour, untractable, unsociable Temper, and more than ordinary inclin'd to viciousness.

3. *Because it disposes to other Vertues, and particularly to a Religious Worship of God.*

*Dutifulness  
disposes to Religion.*

It is a mighty Barrier against Vice, to be under good direction ; therefore Children who are obedient to their Parents, and follow their good Instructions, to be sure are more good and vertuous than those who are headstrong, and will take their own Course, whithersoever their unruly Appetites lead them. Besides, Obedience to Parents doestrain Young People up to the Obedience of God ; when they are once accustomed with readiness to perform those Domestical Commands, they will with more ease obey the Precepts of Religion ; whilst those who have been wont to slight those Paternal Injunctions, will make as little Conscience to make bold with God Almighty's Ordinances. But there needs no better Proof of the Truth of what is here asserted, than the frequent acknowledgment of wicked Men themselves, who cannot

cannot but own, but that the enormous wickedness which they have fell into, was occasioned at first by their disobedience to their Parents. And you may further observe, That nothing more disposes Persons to true Piety, an hearty Love, and a devout Worship of God than this Vertue: That Natural Affection is generally improved into a Religious Zeal, and a Holy Flame; and, That sense of Gratitude which is so eminently conspicuous towards their Parents which begat them, can hardly be wanting to the Good God who made them, and to the Holy Jesus who redeemed them.

II. To shew the Reasonableness of this Duty of Honouring Parents, or what Reasons or Grounds oblige us to it.

I. Now the First Reason is grounded upon *Generation*, or *because they begat us*.

*Generation a Reason of duty to Parents.*

And this is sufficient Reason and Ground for them to expect all lawful Obedience, and dutiful Observance from us. They, by this, have a right to all our Actions, which, without transgression of a Superiour Law, we can pay them. For 'tis impossible, that any one can have a firmer Right to any thing more, than

than they have to their Children. If they have a Right to the Fruits of their Ground; because they are the Production of the Fields they have purchased, or primarily possessed themselves of; much more have they to their Children, who are the increase of their Body, which is the firmest Possession, and which of all things in the World, they have the clearest Right to. From hence, in some Nations, the Parents were impowered to make Sale of their Children in case of Indigence, and by the Old *Roman* Laws a Father might sell his Child three times over: But however, by Right of Generation, as they are the Cause of our Being, they have a Title to the Command of our Actions, and to be dutifully respected by us; for if our Life does proceed from them, then the Actions which are consequent upon that Life, do in some measure belong to them, and are to be at their disposal; and all that we do, ought to be so managed as to be well-pleasing to them, and to shew forth a due sense of the Gratitude we owe to those who have been the Cause of so great a Blessing, as a Being is, to us.

The *Libertines* indeed, do endeavour to weaken this Obligation, by saying, that our Parents do not design this Benefit to *us*,

but to gratifie *themselves*. But then they mistake to think this to be universally true; for there are many who propose another end in Matrimony than to gratifie those sensual Inclinations, which these Men do so much indulge, and who make the Procreation of Children the chiefest Aim. But supposing they designed only their own gratification, the grateful Obligation of Children does not cease upon this score. For there are few, if any, Benefactions in the World, which are done with a pure respect to the Persons who are benefitted by them. Men do kind and charitable actions oftentimes thro' the Bent of Good Nature, Commiseration, or by the strength of Affection, or sometimes Importunity, or, which is yet a better Principle, in obedience to the Commands of God; and yet those are reputed ungrateful, who do not requite the good turn, upon whatsoever ground it is conveyed to them; for the Benefit does them as much good if 'twas designed only out of meer *kindness* to them; or if 'twas done out of the sole Principle of *kindness*, even that act of *kindness* is done in gratification of an affection in the Benefactor, which is so pleasing to him that he cannot but comply with. So that notwithstanding this Objection;

jection, our Parents, by vertue of Generation are still our greatest Benefactors, and the same Argument which would destroy Gratitude to them upon this Score, would as well take away all Gratitude for any Benefit in the World.

2. Another Reason for Honouring our Parents is grounded upon their *Education* of us. If *Education* we consider thro' what a State of Impotence they have conducted us, and assisted us in a thousand things to which we could not help ourselves, we can never think we can pay too much Obedience and Ohservance to them. Think how carefully they have brought our Food to us, which we must have pin'd after, but could never have procured it. Think how lovingly they cherished our tender Bodies with warm Apparel, which otherwise must have lain Exposed to the Smart and Danger of Pinching Cold. Think how kindly their Arms have conveyed us from Place to Place, before we had strength in our Limbs to move our selves. Think what indulgent Artifices, and pleasing Wiles they condescended to make use of, to assuage our Pain, and to Appease our

Frowardness. Think farther, How unconceivably Beneficial the Instruction and Breeding they have given us, have been to us. Consider what a wretched unhewn Creature M A N would be, if he had not been instructed in the Principles of Humanity, but had retained all the fierceness of uncorrected Nature about him; if he had not learned from his Parents the Laws of Conversation and Civil Deportment? But what is much more, in a Christian Nation. How many ungodly Principles would he be governed by? How ignorant would he be of those many excellent Duties which our Holy Religion enjoins, of the glorious Rewards of another World, and the proper Means to attain them, if his Christian Parents had not taken Care to have him instructed in them? Therefore, when they have conveyed these unspeakable Benefits to us, it is the highest Point of Ingratitude not to pay them an Obedience and Observance, which far less Obligations would have required of us.

3. Another Ground of our Duty to them is their *Wisdom*.

*Wisdom.*

Every one ought to govern his Actions by Reason, and when

when a Man's own Reason is deficient, he ought to take Advice of the superiour Reason of another, who he's assured has that kindness for him, that he will not misguide him. Now, Children in their Minority at least, have not had that Experience in the World as to judge so well of the Consequences of things as their Parents, and therefore they ought to be determined by Their Advice, and to be obedient to their Commands, which they cannot but acknowledge to be designed for their good, when they proceed from them, who are the greatest Friends and Lovers they have in the World.

4. The last Reason, and the greatest we have, for this Duty, is the Will and Express Command *Command of*  
of Almighty G O D. *G O D.*

This would be Reason sufficient to us exactly to discharge it if we had no other: For all His Commands are grounded upon the most Wise and Eternal Reasons, tho' perhaps they may be unknown to us. Now God has declared his Will, as to this Point, in a most Eminent Manner. He has enjoined it in innumerable Places of His Holy Word: Has enforced it by threatening the severe

rest Penalties to the Breach of it, and encouraging it with Rewards, both of this and the other World. And to bind this stronger upon us, He has added a Force to this, which is wanting in the generality of other Duties, and that is *Natural Affection*, which by a Secret Bent of our Souls, and a Native Tenderneſs, diſpoſes us ſo to do all that is pleaſing and agreeable to them, and makes us that we cannot, without Struggle and Violence to our Conſciences, and without an uneaſie Force upon our Natures, behave our ſelves diſobediently or unhandſomely to them.

Therefore, My Chriſtian Brethren, I beſeech you to conſider and weigh what has been ſaid, to lay it up ſeriously in your hearts, and to Tranſcribe it into your Chriſtian Practice. Reſolve never to do any thing unkindly to thoſe who have been ſo great Friends and Benefactors to us, who have ſhewn us that unſpeakable Love and Kindneſs, which we are not able ſo much as to conceive, till we experience it in our Affection to our own Children. Do not by a Violation of this Duty incur the Anger and Curſe of God which is intail'd upon it: And Forfeit not the Bleſſing which he has promiſed plentifully to beſtow

flow upon Dutiful Children. This is the *first* and last Commandment with Promise ; for of all the Second Table there is only This that has a particular Reward annexed to it, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother, that thy days may be long in the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* Therefore those Persons who are undutiful to their Parents, cannot expect either Length of Days in this World, or Everlasting Salvation in the next.

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The Duty of SERVANTS  
TO THEIR  
**MASTERS.**

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Discourse III.

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Coloss. iii. xxii.

*Servants in all Things Obey you Masters according to the Flesh ; not with Eye Service, as Men pleasers, but in singleness of Heart, fearing God.*

**I**T is a thing not unworthy of Consideration to observe, That among a Multitude of Moral Discourses, and Rules which are to be found in the Heathen Philosophy, there are very few or hardly any, which relate to the Duty of Servants ;

and

and which Teach them how they ought to behave themselves in the Post, or Condition they are in. This was owing to the Pride of the old Philosophers, and to the general Vanity of the Pagan World ; who had their Servants in that vile Contempt, by reason of the mean Condition, which their Cruelty and Oppression had brought them to, that they thought them to be hardly Capable of any kind of Vertue ; and that they could not be inclined to their Duty by any other Motives, but those of Lashes and Blows. But the peculiar Charity and Goodness of the Christian Religion, does vouchsafe to take Care of, and to Instruct in Vertue, the meanest of all Gods Rational Creatures ; it offers the Terms of Salvation to every immortal Soul whatsoever, tho' never so much depressed with worldly Misfortunes ; and lays down the Rules of Duty, as well for them who Groan under Chains, as for those who Triumph in Purple. And therefore the Apostle, among the Duties of Husband and Wife, and Children and Parents, lays down that of Servants likewise ; telling them, that they must Obey their Masters in all lawful Things, even those Masters who were of a false Religion, and perfect Heathens, and that they

should not think that the Holiness and Spiritualness of their Religion, would excuse them from the Service which they owed to their Masters, *according to the Flesh*; enjoining them further to pay this Duty, not *with Eye Service*, or out of Hypocrisie, pretending to be very Dutiful when their Masters Eyes are upon them, and neglecting their Commands when their Back is turn'd; but to serve them *in singleness of Heart, fearing God*, that is, with Heartiness, and with a Conscience, as well in their Absence, as their Presence; not out of fear of displeasure, or Punishment from their fleshly Masters, but for fear of God Almighty, the Great Sovereign Lord of the whole Earth, who hath Commanded Servants to pay such Obedience. Now in Discoursing upon these Words, I shall endeavour to do these Three Things:

I. Shew the Lawfulness of a State of Servitude under the Gospel; which is implied in these Words of the Apostle, who says, that Christian Servants ought to be Obedient to their Masters, tho' *according to the Flesh*.

II. What are the particular Duties required of God from Servants.

III. Give

III. Give some general Direction, or Exhortation to Persons in that State, for the better discharge of their Duty.

I. Shew the Lawfulness of a State of Servitude under the Gospel, which is implied in the words of the Apostle, which Command Christians to be Obedient to their Masters, *tho' according to the flesh.* Lawfulness of keeping hired Servants. Now unless this State of Life was Lawful, both to be required of Masters, and to be undergone by Servants, the Holy Scripture would not in this and in other Places, have given Directions for Servants how to behave themselves in that Condition. The Apostle in this Place, would not have said, *Servants in all Things Obey your Masters according to the Flesh*; but would rather have said, Servants, since you have Embraced a Spiritual Religion, you are free from all the carnal Ordinances of this World; for when they Command Obedience from you, they Oppress you, Because, both by Nature and Grace, you are upon an equal Foot with them; and therefore they have no Right to put you upon those Drudgeries, which they will not undergo themselves, and which you receive

receive no Profit by. But, when the Apostle says just the contrary to this, that a Christian Servant is not freed from Obligation to his Master, but is Obliged to serve him Faithfully, tho' his Master should happen to be a *Heathen*; and when another Apostle bids them not only be Obedient to the good and gentle, but also to the froward; 1 Pet. 2. 18. it can never be thought with any Colour of Reason, by those who believe the Gospel, that Servitude is unlawful under it. Besides, the Lawfulness of this State, is manifestly deducible from the Rules of right Reason. If there be such a thing as Right and Property, then there must be such a thing as a State of Servitude. For if a whole Country be possessed by distinct Proprietors, then all the Fruits arising from those Properties, do belong only to their respective Owners; and since there will be always more People in a Nation than the Proprietors of the Lands, from whence the Fruits arise, upon which the whole Nation must subsist; it will follow, that those who are not Proprietors, and have not Fruits arising of their own whereupon to live, must do something Advantageous to the Proprietors, to the end, that they may impart some of their Fruits for a Subsistence

stence to them. For the Proprietor has no Reason to Maintain an idle Person, which does nothing for him out of his proper Income, but however, is willing to allow him Food and Cloaths, and other Conveniencies, if he will lay out his Labour for his Use. From hence it follows, that there must of Necessity, be a great Number of Persons in a Nation, who must be either Servants, or what is much worse, Thiefs and Beggars; and therefore, that State which so great a part of Mankind is necessitated too, must needs be Lawful. This is clear Proof of the Lawfulness of Servitude in General; that here must be some Underling in the World, which for a certain Reward, or other Conveniencies, must undergo the more Laborious and Painful Offices for their Superiors. But there are two sorts of Servitude, the one Voluntary; the other by Compulsion, the one by Stipulation and Bargain, the other by Fate of War, or Purchase; in the one, the Master can Command his Servant no farther than by Agreement, the Servant has obliged himself to Perform; in the other, the Master has Power of Life and Death over him, and has him Absolutely as much at Command and Disposal, as he has his Ox or his Ass. Now the Question

on

on is, whether this latter sort of Servitude which is generally called Slavery, under a Christian State be Lawful or not.

And in Answer to this, we say, that whatsoever was heretofore

*Whether Slavery be Lawful under the Gospel.*

Lawful by the Law of Nature, and is not expressly forbid by the Christian Religion, is Lawful still under the Gospel; for

our Saviour has said, he did not *come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil*, Mat. 5: 17.

Now before, by the Law of Nature, such a State of Servitude was Lawful, it being the Universal, and uncondemned Practice of all Nations, and it is no where expressly forbid by our Saviour or his Apostles; and therefore it must in it self be Lawful still. Nor is there only Prescription to be pleaded for this Practice, but right Reason it self does speak for it. For such Servitude does arise either from the *Chance of War*, or a just *Condemnation* for heinous Crimes; or else the Right which is Originally founded upon these Titles, is transferred to another by *Bargain*. Now upon all these Accounts, the Person which is fell into these mean Circumstances, is Obligated to pay his Master those Servile Duties he is pleased to require of him. For if a Man be taken a Prisoner in

in War, he lies at the Mercy of the Victor, either to kill him or save him ; and if he begs his Life upon Condition of Slavery, he is obliged to submit to that Slavery which was his desire to undergo. Nay, if there was no such Condition expressly agreed to, the very saving from Death is an Obligation to devote all the actions of the Life so given, to the Service of the Giver, if he is pleased to require it.

So if a Man commits a Crime, whereby he forfeits his Life to the Government, the Supream Governour, if he pleases, may dispose of such an one's Life, under what Conditions he pleases to another Man ; and if it be under the Conditions of absolute Slavery, he must pay him the Duties required in such a State ; for such a Criminal has lost all manner of Right by his Fault, even that of Life it self ; and when the Government is pleased to return back That only, tho' clogged with many uncomfortable Circumstances, he is obliged thankfully to accept of it ; or however, after Acceptance, he must perform those Conditions which he took it up upon.

Or lastly, If a Man be a Slave to another upon *Purchase*, that is, when he that has the Original Right to him, upon either

ther of these Foundations, sells him to another, the Duty which was owing to the Original Master is owing to the Delegated One ; for all the former Right, which he had, is transferred to another, and he by his Money has obtained as good Title to the Benefit of his Labour, as the former had by Conquest or Forfeiture.

All these Persons, upon whatsoever of these Accounts, God has been pleased to let them fall into these Circumstances, are obliged to perform all those Servile Duties, which the Custom of the Country, or the Will of their Master shall Exact of them, and to pay them all other Observances which are usually given them. For the Apostle commands, *that as many Servants as are under the Yoke should count their Masters worthy of all Honour.* 1 Tim. 6. 1. Now in the Apostle's time there was rarely any such thing to be heard of, as a Conduſtitious or Mercenary Servant ; and those Servants under the Yoke, which he there mentions, were Servants of Property, which were as absolutely in their Master's Possession and Right of Disposal as his House, or Lands, or Horses, and who likewise had, for the most part, worse Treatment, and were not half so well lookt after as either of these. And yet  
for

for all this *St. Paul* enjoins them not only to obey these Masters, but to respect them, and to count them worthy of all honour. This is plain on the Servant's Side, that they are to pay their Master or Patron those Duties, which are generally required in that strict Condition of Servitude. But then it may be a Question, Whether those Masters may lawfully require strictly that unconditional Service under the Gospel, which Masters were wont to do in former Ages, when Slavery was generally in use in the World. And indeed, that Rigidity and Severity which can hardly be avoided towards those sort of Servants, does not seem to be consistent with the Goodness of the Christian Religion, which does inspire Men with more Love and Kindness than can usually be shewn to them. And therefore, altho' Slavery was not forbid by Christ or the Apostles; for that Then would have Universally disturbed the settlement of Nations and Families; yet, as Nations did more and more become Christian, so Slavery did more and more grow out of Use, for the Christian Religion did so by degrees mollify Mens Minds, that generally throughout *Christendom*, they have now for some Ages, laid aside the harsher

harsher use of Slaves, for the milder Methods of Mercenary Servants. And in those Places of the World, where Christians make use of Infidel Servants, I will not say it is absolutely unlawful to continue them in that sort of Servitude, if it be managed with that Moderation and goodness, which is agreeable to our own Religion; but when they sometimes equal, or exceed the old Pagan Cruelty towards them, when they neither Endeavour to Instruct them into the way of Salvation, but keep them purposely from Embracing the Gospel, that they may the better Apologize for the hardships they make them undergo, this I am sure is neither Christian nor Human, and I pray they may not want that Mercy from God, which they have refused to shew to their poor Fellow Creatures. So much of the Lawfulness of the State of Servants; I now proceed to shew.

II. What are the particular Duties required of God from Servants.

I. Now the First Branch of their Duty is *Obedience to their Masters Commands.*

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This Duty is express from the words of the Text, *Servants obey your Masters in all things.* That is, *Obedience* in all things wherein you may lawfully obey them, or wherein it lies in your power, or you are by your Duty obliged to obey them. For some of these Cases may happen, wherein Servants may be excused from obeying their Masters Commands, and yet discharge their Duties very conscientiously. For First, If their Masters Commands be unlawful, if they enjoin them to commit any action which is forbid by the Law of God, or by the Law of the Land, as if they should engage them to be assistants to them in an Act of Theft, or counterfeiting the King's Coin, or any other lesser Crime, a Servant is so far from being in a Fault for refusing Obedience to such a Command, that his standing out against all the Threats or Persuasions of his Master, deserves rather the Commendation of great Vertue and Constancy. And so 2dly, If the Masters Commands are impossible to be done, if thro' Forgetfulness he shall Command the same thing to be done, and to be let alone, if he shall enjoin something which is beyond the reach of Human Power, or above his Servants Ability, the Fault then lies on the

Masters side, whose Imprudence is to be blamed for giving out such impossible Commands, and not the Servant's Disobedience, who cannot be obliged to do more than he is able. Or 3dly, If the Servant be hired to discharge some more easie or more generous Employ, he is by his Agreement excused from all those Drudgeries and hard Labours which only Servants of an Inferiour Condition covenant to perform. But in other Cases, where the Matters enjoined are lawful and possible to be done, and withal are such as Servants of the same Rank do usually perform; then the Masters Command is the Rule of their Duty, and so far as they refuse or neglect that, they sin against God. Nor is the Command of their Master only to be discharged in gross, and as to the Main and Substance of what is required; but is to be done with diligence and accuracy, and as if they were to do the same thing for themselves; for a slubbing and superficial performance of a thing is not such a doing of it as is expected, it only cheats the Master of that greater Pains and Labour he has a Right to, and imposes upon his Judgment in offering such a Fraud upon him. And as Servants must not perform their Masters Commands slightly, so they

they must do them with willingness, for inclination and a willing Mind are the Wheels and Wings of an Action, they make a Man run thro' whatever he is to do with Speed and Activity, whilst what is done by those who act with backwardness and against the grain, is generally doing long, and ill performed at last. Therefore, if Servants would avoid the Injustice of defrauding their Masters of those Conveniencies they are hired for, they must do their work with willingness; which besides the gratefulness of the thing it self, makes every thing they have a hand in the better for it. And lastly, Servants must give Obedience to their Masters Commands, in the same manner as they Prescribe: If they are commanded to Prosecute one Method, they must not Advance another, they must not like *Naaman*, who when he was commanded to wash in *Jordan*, was for doing the same Thing rather in *Abona* or *Parpha*. For this is generally owing to Malepert and Opinionative Humour, and a foolish Presumption of Understanding other Mens Business better than they do themselves; or if the Servant should happen to be in the Right, unless he can with Modesty make his Master of his Opinion; the doing a thing

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contrary

contrary to his Inclination, does give him more dissatisfaction than the doing of it worse, when according to his Mind.

2. The Second Branch of the Servants Duty, is *Faithfulness*. This *Fidelity*. the Scripture recommends, as the Peculiar Duty of Servants : *It is required of Stewards to be faithful, 2 Cor. 4. 2. Exhort Servants not to be purloining, but shewing all good Fidelity, that they may adorn the Doctrine of our Saviour in all things, Tit. 2. 10.* And St. Paul gives it as a great Commendation of *Onesimus*, that he was a *faithful Servant, Col. 4. 9.* And indeed, without Fidelity, a Servant is nothing else but a Domestick Robber, and is far more wicked than one that takes his Masters Money from him upon the Road. For those extraneous Thieves, are guilty only of the Injustice without Violation of a Trust, but unfaithful Servants, not only take from their Master their Goods, but perfidiously betray the Confidence reposed in them, and ungratefully requite their Masters good Opinion of them, both by Fraud and Falseness. Therefore all Servant should take a most special Care how they commit any Sin, which borders upon this Vice, not only in this matter of stealing and pilfering from their Masters

and

and giving in false Accounts ; but they should avoid the making any extravagant Waste, and should be as Frugal in husbanding every thing which goes through their Hands, as if their own particular Interest was concerned therein. And indeed it is so, for nothing Advances Servants, so much as Sincerity and Carefulness ; it endears their Masters to them, it begets Respect where ever they go, and oftentimes raises them from an Office of Contempt, to one of Glory and Envy. Whil'st on the other side, your pilfering and deceitful Servants loose their Interest in all Families they come into ; are turn'd out of their Masters Doors with shame and disgrace ; become despicable Vagrants and Strowlers ; live their whole Life in Beggary ; and oftentimes Dye at the Gallows. If Servants had no Conscience and Fear of the Punishment of Almighty God ; yet the Consideration of their Temporal Interest, should sway so much with them, as to make them avoid a Vice, which carries such Apparent hazzards of their Fortune, and well nigh a certainty of their utter undoing with it. Let me add further, Fidelity is the Servants Point of Honour, tis the chiefeft matter they are to value themselves upon, and Pride themselves in ;

and to be defective in this, is the greatest Reproach of their Calling ; is like Immodesty in a Woman, and Cowardize in a Soldier, much worse in them, than in other People.

3. The next Duty which a Servant owes to his Master is *Honour* or *Respect*.

It is the Apostle's Advice, *1 Tim. 6. 1. Let as many Servants as are under the Yoke, count their own Masters worthy of all Honour, that the Name of God and his Doctrine be not blasphemed.* He says, that Christian Servants ought to shew a more singular *Honour* to their Masters, to wipe off the Scandal which had been cast upon the Christian Religion by its Adversaries, as if it did dissolve Humane Ties, and particularly the Obligation of Servants to their Masters ; and that it may be an Honour to Christianity to have the meanest Professors discharge their Duty with exactness. Therefore Servants are obliged to shew all the Respect to their Masters, which the Rules of Decency, and the Post they are in requires ; by giving them Honourable Compellations whenever they address themselves to them, by rising up to them, *Job 29. 8.* bowing to them, *Gen. 18.*

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2. standing before them, *Job* 29.8. by being silent whilst they are speaking, *Job* 29.9, 10. and doing them all other acts of Reverence, which by the Custom of the Place are due from Inferiours to their Betters. These outward Marks of Esteem do very much conduce to keep up in Servants a sense of their Duty, which will be apt to flag when too great a Familiarity makes them forget their Distance. And therefore, if Masters, out of too great an Indulgence, should admit their Servants to improper Freedoms, the Servants should be very sparing in accepting them; lest these indiscreet Favours should in time prompt them to a Neglect of their Business, and give them an Air of Conceitedness and Boldness, which they may never after be able to wear off. In short, if Servants be wanting in their due Respect to their Masters, all the other good Qualities they stand possessed of will not be valued; for no body cares to be served after a surly, ill-manner'd way; and it seldom happens that either Fidelity or Diligence will atone for Sawciness.

4. Another Principal Duty of *Secrecy*.  
Servant is *Secrecy*.

Every Family is a little sort of Commonwealth,

monwealth, where there are some Maxims of Polity, and Ways of acting peculiar to themselves, which to divulge to the World is highly prejudicial to the State of them, and is a kind of Petty-Treason in a Servant to commit. A Master, within the Privacy of his own Walls, and the Confidence of his own Domesticks, does oftentimes allow himself a greater Freedom of Discourse than in other Places; he there leaves Nature more free and unguarded, and may in a constant Conversation, betray some Weaknesses, which may escape the Observation of a Friend who is seldom seen. Many Domestick Differences may arise, many Accidents which may affect his Estate, which for a Servant to publish abroad, may sometimes be more mischievous to his Master than if he should break open his Chests, and run away with his Cash. Therefore every honest Servant should be as careful of the Family-Secrets which come to his knowledge, as of the Money committed to his Charge, and as soon allow himself to imbezzil the one, as to divulge the other; nay, to be more cautious of the latter of these, because this Damage may be made good, but the other is an irreparable Mischief. And as a Means to avoid this Fault, Servants should endeavour

your first to break themselves of a Talkative Humour they may be inclined to, which ill quality generally prompts them to speak of their Master's Business, for want of something else to say; And 2dly, to give a Check to any Bussie Person, whom they shall perceive inquisitive and prying about the Affairs of the Family which they belong to.

5. Another Duty of Servants is *Patience* and *Submission* to the ordinary Hardships which Persons in *Submission*. that Station do undergo.

As for those Servants who are under the Absolute Command of their Masters by Conquest or Purchase, they are obliged to undergo all the Unkind Usage which the most unmerciful Masters can lay upon them; with this comfortable Expectation, that God will in his good time make them amends in another World, for the Difficulties patiently undergone in this. And as for hired Servants, whose Lot it is to meet with some Hardships in their Station, they must go through them with the Resignation as becomes a Christian, and as taking That Part in this Life which Providence has allotted them. If their Labour be hard, a cheerfulness under it will make it easier, whilst

whilst a grudging and repining at it, does but double the Difficulty, and make every step they take in it go to their very heart; and besides, 'tis but reasonable to expect, that a ready executing the most painful Task, will in time, work so upon their Masters good Nature, as to take off from their Burden. If it be their Fortune to serve under Persons of a Peevish or Morose Temper, they should bear with Patience the hard words which they receive from them, *not answering again*, as the Apostle advises, *Titus 2. 9.* considering that every reproachful Return is not only inconsistent with their Duty, but raises a hot Temper to further Extravagancies, which makes their Burden still the heavier; whereas a meek and humble Deportment under so unkind a Treatment, will melt down into Compassion the most obdurate Heart, will force their Masters, sometimes contrary to their Nature, into a Love and Tenderness towards them, will make them resolve for the future to be more gentle to them, and oftentimes to make amends by their Bounty, for the Indignities offered to so meek a Sufferer. If it be their Chance, either thro' their own Demerit, or the Hastiness or Mistake of their Master, to fall under Correction, they must with Patience bear the

Punishment

Punishment inflicted on them ; they must not return upon them angry Words or mischievous Wishes, or repine at the hardship of the Condition God has placed them in ; but rather be sorry for their Fault, if they have committed it, or for their unhappiness to incur their Masters displeasure if they have not. If Servants would take Care to pursue these Methods, they would make the worse Service they can come into, if not altogether easie, yet very supportable ; especially, whilst they continue to have a firm Reliance upon God, that he will improve all these hardships to their future Advantage one time or other ; and are satisfied that a patient bearing of the sufferings of this kind, is what the Word of God has enjoined them. *Servants be subject to your Masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also the froward. For this is thank worthy, if a Man for Conscience toward God, endure grief suffering wrongfully. For what Glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye take it patiently ? But if when ye do well and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.*

6. Another Duty which Servants owe to their Masters is *Love*. There is no true Service to be paid without *Love*; for when Men act only for Interest, and out of fear, they do well, only so long as they are not perceived to do amiss, and till they dare to do otherwise. But when Servants bear a hearty Love to their Masters, they Act in Their Concerns, as they would do in their own, and they are zealously Studious both of their Profit Credit and Welfare. If any Calamity is likely to affect their Estates, they are under an uneasiness till it is removed, and are keen in their Expectations of every thing which may improve their Income. If they hear any thing said in Detriment to their Honour, they are impatient till they can Vindicate it, having an eagerness to wipe off the Venom, which Malicious Tongues shall cast upon their Character; purging them from the Imputation of those Crimes which they have not committed, and softning, and Extenuating those which they have. If then Masters are injuriously assaulted, and put in danger of losing their Lives or Goods, they will fly to their Aid and Protection with Courage and Heartiness, and will do all in their Power lies, to repel

pel the unlawful force, from invading their Property and hurting their Persons. But furthermore, the Servants Love ought to be extended to his Masters Children, whom he ought to Cherish and Please, and to do all manner of kind and good Natured Offices to, as far as it is Consistent with the Rules of Honesty : But must take Care therein that he does not Assist them, as too many do, in committing any of their Faults, or by keeping their Counsel in others, which are of such a Nature, as the Parent ought to have a Knowledg of.

I now come to the Third Thing I Proposed,

III. To give some general Direction, or Exhortation to Servants, for the better discharge of their Duties.

And First, let me Advise them to keep a constant Fear of God before their Eyes, and to live a Sober and Religious Life. Now *Advice to Servants to be Religious.* such a Man, cannot but be a good Servant, because he Acts out of Principle, and has a Conscience in his Breast, whose Checks he stands in dread of

of, upon every Violation of his Duty ; and being more afraid of the Anger of God for his Negligence, than for the Chiding of an haſty Maſter ; the Anger of that God who ſees what he does, when his Actions are hid from all Mortal Eyes. And therefore the Apoſtle in the Text adviſes, that if Servants would not perform an *Eye Service, as Men pleaſers*, they ſhould fear God. For if Servants do not fear God, and do their Duty out of Conſcience, they will neglect thoſe Parts of their Office, which their Maſter is not like to take Notice of.

But beſides, Religion gives Servants ſo many good Qualities, as indears them to the Maſters they ſerve under, and makes every thing they do, to find a kind acceptance of Their Hands. Their unpaſſionate Comportment, their obliging Answers, their patient bearing of a Rebuke, their conſtant Care and Diligence of their Maſters Affairs, and their Love to his Perſon and Relations, generally raiſe ſuch a Love and Eſteem from their Maſter to them, that they are unwilling to take Notice of any ordinary Failure ; the ſatisfactory diſcharge of their Duties does render their Lives eaſie and pleaſant to them ; and whiſt other Servants, by their careleſneſs,  
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and unconscientious Neglect of their Duty, live in constant Tempests and Storms, and are rated like the Dogs of the Family, these are treated and esteemed like the Children of it. But chiefly, that which renders the actions of a Religious Servant more acceptable, and his Life more happy, is the Blessing of God which goes along with him, and with what he does. We read in the 24th Chapter of *Genesis*, with how prosperous an Event God crowned the Errand of *Abraham's* Religious Servant. And when holy *Jacob* served *Laban*, God blessed *Laban* for his sake, *Gen.* 30. 27. So when *Joseph* was a Servant unto *Potiphar*, the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hand, *Gen.* 29. 3. And there is no question to be made, but in the ordinary Dispensation of God's Providence in our times, that the like Instances are to be found of good Servants which bring a Blessing upon the Family they dwell in, and keep off, for a time, the Judgments which are hanging over their Masters Heads. These are great Encouragements to Servants to be truly Religious; and indeed what can be greater? their Piety and Honesty renders them dear to their Masters, and dear to God, and gives them such an Interest in his Favour, as

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sometimes to let, even their wicked Masters share in it, for their sakes.

*Secondly,* Let me advise them to be content with the Condition they are in. *To be Content.*

Most Servants, when they consider the Splendour and seeming Ease of their Master's Life, whilst they are forced painfully to get their Living by the sweat of their Brows; when they take Notice how satisfactorily these can have their Will in every thing performed by others, whilst they cannot be Masters so much as of their own Actions, but are forced to do so many things contrary to their Inclinations, and against the Grain; when they consider this, they are apt to make uncomfortable Reflections upon their own Condition, and to tax Providence with an unequal dealing towards them. But such Persons turn only the worst side of the Servants Life to their view, and entertain their Thoughts with the darkest appearance of that State; whereas, they would have another Opinion of these Matters, if they compared the Conveniencies thereof with the Disadvantages. They would then find many things in the Servants Condition, which are so far from  
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being to be pitied and repined at, that they would appear rather the subject of other Mens Envy. Let them but now and then observe, how their Masters and Ladies sit down to their Meals with a sick and squeamish Stomack, in whom the most studied Delicacies are not able to excite an Appetite, whilst their Servants can feed with Gust and Pleasure upon the Fragments of their Dishes : And then, if they can, let them wish for that idle Course of Life, which is the occasion of so much Sickness and Disorder, or grudge at their own Labours, which keep them in so much Health and Vigour. Let them but take notice of the frequent Cares which hang upon their Masters Brow, what Fears and Misgivings of Losses possess their Minds, what solicitous Thoughts they have to provide for their Families, and to pay off uneasie Debts, what other anxious Cares for the Maintenance of a numerous Household ly pressing upon one single Breast ; and then let them turn their Eyes upon their own selves, and observe how easily their Lives pass along without any trouble or disquiet, who have all things ready provided for them without the least Solitude of their own ; and after this let them consider, if the Mirth and Jollity which sits so pleasantly

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fantly upon their Minds, be not as agreeable a Possession, as those pensive Thoughts which their richer Masters are over-clouded with. Let them reflect how great a Talent is committed to their Charge whose Condition they so much admired, and how much they have to answer for in the Distribution of it; what great Improvements are required at their hands to whom so much is given; what great Spaces of ill spent time they are to account for, who have no Employ to lay it out upon; how many more Temptations their High Fortune is surrounded with, and what a number of Dangers it is exposed to: Whilst on the other side, God expects no great Improvement from the poor Servant than according to the Measure he has given him, he being busied in his honest Employ, the Devil has no Opportunity to make his Temptations fasten upon him; and the lowness of his Station occasions those Storms to fly over his Head, which throw down with fury the tallest Fortunes. These Reflections seriously considered, will make Servants not only to be content with their Condition, but to praise and glorify God for placing them in such a Station wherein they may run through the Course of this World with so little Care, and work out their

their Salvation for the next with less hazard than other Men.

Therefore let me perswade all those, whom God has called to this State of Life, conscientiously to perform all the Duties which are expected in it: This is the Part which God has given them to act in this World, to work out their everlasting Salvation by ; and if they do this as they ought, God will as liberally reward them for it in another Life, as if they had made their Appearance in This with Scarlet and Ermines:

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The Duty of WIVES  
TO THEIR  
Husbands.

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Discourse IV.

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Coloss. iii. xviii.

*Wives Submit your selves unto your  
own Husbands, as is fit in the  
Lord.*

THE Apostle in this Chapter exhorting the *Colossians* to the performance of the several Relative Duties, as those of Children to their Parents, of Fathers to their Children, and of Servants to their Masters ; he in these Words, lays

lays down what Obligation is owing from Wives to their Husbands. He Instances indeed but in one, which is *Submission* or *Obedience*; but that is such a general Duty, as does in Effect include the rest, and which if Wives shall discharge, as they ought to do, they cannot easily be defective in any of the other. For if the Wife be always readily disposed in all Lawful things, to comply with the Will of her Husband, she cannot so well be supposed to make a Breach upon any other of the Conjugal Duties; which it must be the desire of every good Husband, that she should keep up. And besides, the Apostle seems to Point out this Duty in particular; Because, This is generally thought with more difficulty than others to be observed, and that there is less Obligation to the performance of it; it being the usage both of our Saviour and his Apostles, to press that Duty most principally, the Violation of which they perceive most frequent. So also *John the Baptist*, considering that the most general Fault in Souldiers, was mutining for Pay, he gives them their Lesson, to be *Content with their Wages*. The Apostle, by the same Rule, advise Subjects to Obedience, Servants to Fidelity: Fathers not against

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fondness,

fondness, which is generally the Mothers fault, but against that which they are too often faulty in, a too great Severity, and *provoking their Children to Wrath.* So to Wives, St. Paul particularly recommends Submission to their Husbands ; not but that the violation of some other Conjugal Duties, were great Sins ; but This was a more spreading one, This was the only one, that even Vertuous and good Women did sometimes indulge themselves in the neglect of ; there being many, who stood in no need of an Exhortation, to preserve the Marriage Bed entire, or to be careful in their Families ; who however, might make some Improvement upon this other Advice. *Wives Submit your selves unto your own Husbands, as is fit in the Lord.* That is, Wives take Care to discharge all Duties, which are incumbent upon you in the Conjugal State ; do all, which a Wife and a Good Husband would be willing to have you do ; avoid not only those wide Transgressions, which ill Women make in their Duty towards their Husbands, but take Care to pay such a *Submission and Obedience, as is fit in the Lord* ; which Duty, tho' it may be neglected by some, who have the Character of good Wives under the *Heathen, or Jewish*

*Jewish* Religion ; yet it is but requisite, that you *Christian* Wives should be very exact in observing even what they neglect.

In handling of which Words I shall shew,

I. The Subordination, or Subjection of the Wife to the Husband, upon which this Duty of Submission is grounded.

II. What the Particular Duties of a Wife are.

III. The fitness of Discharging these Duties.

I. I shall shew the Subordination, or Subjection of the Wife to her Husband, upon which this Duty of Submission is grounded. Now this is founded,

I. Upon the Natural Dignity, which is discernable in the Man beyond the Woman.

There is more of natural Imbecility in the Woman, than in the Man, as well in respect of her Bodily, as in her Intellectual Capacities. Their Bodies are of a tender make, are less fitted for Labour, and more

*Husbands Superior to their Wives by the Dignity of their Nature.*

subject to Infirmities, and want that Strength and Firmitude of Nature, which the Masculine Sex does enjoy. Their natural Timorousness and Modesty, hinders Them from undertaking any great or publick Enterprizes; whilst such Actions are owing only to the Bravery and Boldness of the Men. Tho' these do often stand possessed of all the Graces, which an acute Wit embellishes the Mind with; yet they do not so frequently arrive to that Depth of Wisdom, which is requisite for the managing the Affairs of War and Peace; for giving of sagacious Counsel in a State, for the wise Conduct of Armies, or for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences, which do generally owe both their Invention and Improvement to the other Sex.

Now since the Men are endow'd with these valuable Qualifications, which are either wholly wanting, or in a less Degree possessed by the Female Sex: This does shew a higher State of natural Perfection and Dignity, and thereupon puts in a just Claim of Superiority, which every thing which is of more worth has a Right to, over that which has less.

2. The Superiority of the Husband over the Wife, is founded upon the Provision and Defence which he makes for her. *By their providing for them.*

The Food and Raiment of the Family, are either of his Acquisition, or are the Fruits of that Possession, which he has the Property of. 'Tis from his Labour and Abilities, that the Wife does for the most part expect a Maintenance. And in defect of Lands and Revenues, 'Tis He that Reaps the Fruits of the Earth in the Sweat of his Brow, 'tis He that is to endure the Snows and the Rains, the Frost and the Sun : Whilst she has the Satisfaction of abiding at home, under the comfortable Covert of his Mansions, without exposing her self to those hardships which he must undergo. 'Tis He that is to defend her from private Injuries, and from Publick Dangers; from the Affronts of malicious Neighbours, and from the Insults and Ravages of the common Enemy. For his Person alone is to be ventur'd in the Wars, He is to endure the Fatigues and Hardships of the Camp, to Conflict with the Malice and Cruelty of a powerful Enemy; and to behold Wounds and Terrors flying on every Side about him, and to meet Death  
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in a Thousand terrible Figures ; whilst she can sit in Peace and Tranquility within the Security of her own Walls, without any trouble, but what she sustains by the fears she conceives, for the Danger of her kind Deliverer. Now these Benefits received, do confer a Superiority upon the Bestower of them, and do occasion that Subjection in the Wife to her Husband, which every obliged Person ought to pay to the noblest Benefactor.

3. The Subordination, or Subjection of the Wife to the Husband, is manifest from the declared Will of God in the Holy Scripture.

*By the declared  
Will of God.*

There was some kind of Subordination of the Woman to her Husband, from the Original Creation of Woman. For she being made out of the Side of *Adam*, Man would have had some kind of Superiority over her, as she was the Production of his Body. But if Mankind had continued in its Original Rectitude, both Men and Women would have been so utterly void of intemperate Passion, and would have done all things with so calm and exact a Reason, that That Superiority would have included in it nothing of  
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rugged Command, but they would both have acted in all things with one joint Consent, as if they had been both actuated by one Soul; and had had the Determinations of one single Will, to have squared their Actions by. But since the Fall, God has improved this Superiority into a perfect Government and Rule, and has given to the Man, not only a Superiority of Order and Nature, but of actual Power likewise, *Thy desire shall be to thy Husband, and he shall Rule over thee*, Gen. 3. 16. That is, tho' thou naturally hast a desire of Rule and Dominion thy self; yet thou shalt, tho' never so unwilling, be subject to his Rule. For this Curse which God was pleased to inflict upon the Woman, as a Punishment and a Consequent of her Fall, was not a bare being put in Subjection to the Man, but bearing this Subjection without regret and reluctance. Which Quality is not only a Part of the Punishment of the Lapse, but does plainly shew forth the Original Depravation of our common Nature occasioned by it. But still every such Appetite is to be subdued, and rectified by the Rules and Grace which the Gospel affords; and therefore, the Apostles do frequently inforce this Duty of Wives to  
their

their Husbands. *Ye Wives be in Subjection to your own Husbands,* 1 Pet. 3. 1. *Wives Submit your selves unto your own Husbands, as unto the Lord,* Eph. 5. 22. So likewise the Apostle St. Paul condemns those Wives, that *usurp Authority over the Man,* 1 Tim. 2. 12.

Having shewn the Subordination, or Subjection of the Wife to the Husband. I proceed to shew,

## II. What the Particular Duties of a Wife are.

I shall begin with that which is mentioned in the Text, *viz.*

### I. Obedience, or Submission to the Will of the Husband.

*Obedience, or Submission.*

I have shew'd before the general Reasons, for the Discharge of this Duty. I shall only speak a Word or Two more, to shew wherein this Duty more particularly does consist. Now, the Husband being the Prince of the Family, and the Head of the Wife, his Will is the Rule of Obedience for Her and all that dwell in it. Therefore whatever he has seriously declared it is his Will she should

should do, by Vertue of his Superiority over Her, she is obliged to do it. But however, this does admit of some Restriction : For it is not to be thought, that a Wife is indefinitely obliged to whatever any wicked, Cruel, or self-willed Husband shall lay Commands upon Her to perform. The Laws of God and the Land do supersede those of the Marital Authority, and whensoever a Husband shall enjoin his Wife the performance of any thing contrary to these, it is null in the Commanding, and she by disobeying it, preserves her Duty entire, whilst he Violates his, by laying such unlawful Commands upon her. And furthermore, the Wives Subjection is to be considered, as in some Degrees approaching to an Equality with her Husband, and therefore she is not to be treated as one, whom her Husband has a Despotick Authority over. In all Countries whatsoever, even where by their Laws the Husbands Rule over their Wives by the most rigid Authority, there is always a difference to be observed in the treatment of those, whom they have made Consorts of their Bed, and of those whom they have admitted only to the Services of their Family. But in our Country, where to our Happiness, Liberty, Cha-

rity;

ty, and mutual Kindness bear a greater sway, and are grown into our excellent Constitution; our Wives are not obliged to the *Asiatick* Slavery, nor is it their Duty to Submit to all those vile Servilities, and imperious Humors, which the Women of those Nations are forced to comply with. They are here the Mistresses of the Families they come into, and are not obliged by their Conjugal Duty to be the Slaves of it; nor to be put upon any base Drudgeries, which are contrary to their Birth or Dignity, or Circumstances they are under. But in other matters, where the Husband declares his Mind with that decency, which is owing to a Loving Consort, and for the performance of those things which is Proper for the Wife of that Person to undertake, when this is done without Petulancy, or a Spirit of Provocation, and a Purpose to expose and undervalue Her, but out of a Design for her own Good, or the Good of the Family, or some other Commendable End; such a Command of the Husband, ought religiously to be observed by the Wife, and by disobeying this Command therein, she disobeys likewise the Command of God.

Nay further, every good Wife, in point of Prudence at least, or rather to shew forth the excellency of a Christian Spirit, will proceed in this Affair a step or two farther, and will choose to comply oftentimes with unreasonable Commands, if they be not absolutely unlawful, for the sake of Peace and Quietness; and to Exercise the Graces of Meekness and Humility, which are the Principal Parts of the Christian Discipline, whereby our Souls are here trained up for another World, by weaning them from this. But if regard were only had to the Comforts and Happiness of this Life, a Wife by frequently complying with a rugged Temper, will buy her self Peace which she could never procure by opposing it. To confront such a violent Spirit with Contradiction and non-Compliance, is but to add new Storms to those which are risen too high already; 'tis like the lighting of a Cannon-Ball upon a Wall of stubborn Flint, which rends and tears, and breaks every thing into shivers about it, whilst the yielding Earth, by giving way to the same impetuosity, weakens and dissolves it, and receives all the mighty Force without any observable Wound or Scar. For it is a Truth which cannot pass by the most ordinary Observation, That  
Wives,

Wives, by opposing such froward and ill-temper'd Men, make their Passions but the more stubborn, or the more furious; whilst a meek Compliance shames them into better Temper, melts them down into Compassion and Tenderneſs, and a Grief for having shewn ſuch unkindneſs ſo undeservedly to one who loves her Husband with ſo much Affection, and who bears his Severity with ſo much Meekneſs; which, will at length, end all in Love and Peaceableneſs, and turn the moſt ruffling Tumults of a Stern Paſſion into Embraces and Endearments.

The next Duty of the Wife to the Husband I am in order to mention  
*Love. is Love.*

But this is ſo neceſſary to the Conjugal State, that it can hardly have a Being without it. And thoſe Marriages, where this is wanting, are but Priſons for Life. Therefore, all Women who enter into this State, ſhould take care to have Affections well ſettled at firſt, and by all Means to cheriſh them, and keep them up afterwards; for when once they are loſt to their Husband, they ly fair for the next Finder.

3. The next Duty of a Wife is, an Obligingness of Temper, and a willingness to please her Husband, in whatever lawful things she perceives to be agreeable to his Desires.

*Obligingness of Temper.*

This is that Vertue, which the Apostle calls *the Ornament of a Meek and quiet Spirit*. For certainly, nothing raises the Conjugal Vertue to a greater height, and Adorns it with so many Beauties and Graces, as such an obliging Temper of Mind does. To condole with him in all his Misfortunes, and to carry together with him a Brow of sadness, when ever any heavy Vexation Oppresses his Spirits; to let Smiles and Pleasantness overspread her Countenance, when ever his Heart is cheered by prosperous Adventures; when at any time he is out of Humour by cross Accidents, or peevish Contests, to endeavour to sweeten him into Temper again, by good natur'd Words and a kind Aspect; to give way to any intemperate Expressions, which a warm fit of Anger is ready to Suggest; to avoid all Words and Actions, which she knows will offend him; pursuing all Methods, and improving all Opportunities of obliging and pleasing him. Tho'

the Husband likewise be not excused from this Duty in his Turn, yet it is in a greater Degree requisite on the Womans side ; the Mans Temper being naturally of the harder make, and less susceptible of the softer and easier Passions, more Conversant in worldly Business, and as having his Mind frequently discomposed by untoward Accidents ; which when heightened by fresh Provocations at home, makes a Calamity too pressing for ordinary Nature to support. As when Wives, instead of performing the forementioned Duties, take a Liberty and a Pride in aggravating their Husbands Misfortunes ; adding unkind Words to the Frowns of the World, which are hard upon them ; taking an Advantage of their being sorrowed Abroad, to the beginning a Quarrel at home ; improving every passionate Expression into a desperate Strife and Contention ; provoking them by tart Words, discontented Looks, or a sullen Behaviour ; studying Opportunities to vex and fret them, and doing every thing which they judge will be the most ungrateful and hateful to them. Now for a Wife to behave her self in this sort to her Husband, is to pervert God Almightyes Design in the Conjugal State ; and instead  
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of being a *Meet Help* and an Assistance to him is to turn a Domestick Torture, and a Vulture preying within his own Bosom; and such an one as *Solomon* declares his Opinion, rather than to live with, a Man had *better dwell in the Wilderness, or in a corner of the House-top*, Prov. 21. 19.

3. Another Duty of the Wife to her Husband, is to cherish Him, both in his Sickneſs and his Health.

*To cherish Him  
in Sickneſs and  
in Health.*

Women have naturally a greater Tenderneſs in their Nature, and a larger Fear and Forecaſt of a poſſible Miſfortune; as on the other ſide, the Men, thro' the Firmitude of their Bodies, and the innate boldneſs of their Minds, apt to be regardless of their Health, and to neglect thoſe Conveniencies and early Applications, which their Wives are wont ſooner to be Apprehenſive of the Neceſſity of. The Husband being for the moſt part, taken up with Affairs abroad, his Food and other Refreshments, are to be prepared by her at home. Therefore, whenever Wives are careless of their Huſbands Health, when they are negligent in preparing their Food and Raiment in due and proper manner; when they do not ſuccour them in their

Sickness, with a careful and tender regard, it is a most certain Sign, that they neither bear a true Love to their Husbands, nor a Respect to Gods Command, by whose Authority these Conjugal Duties are commanded. *Tit. 2. 4.* But a good and Christian Wife, in whom Affection and Religion conspire together, to make her Love her Husband as she ought ; she is eager to perform any thing wherein she can be assistant to him ; every Morsel of the Food which he Eats with Satisfaction, she her self seems to Relish it ; whatever she suspects will be prejudicial to his Health, pierces her Heart before hand with the terrible Apprehension of it ; she arms him against every noxious Breath of Wind, as if it came pointed with present Death against him ; she lovingly Admonishes him of any impendent Evil, which either Danger, or Difficulty, or Fatigue, which any Act of Intemperance, or Incogitancy may bring upon him. Now tho' this part may be sometimes over done, and some little improprieties committed therein by an ill timed importunacy ; yet it must imply an unpardonable ruggedness of Temper in any Man, not to be well pleased with these Actions, which take their rise from  
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so much Tenderneſs ; and not to overlook a ſmall Indifcretion in the doing of that which is ſo kindly deſigned to him. But above all, a Conſcientious Wife will endeavour to ſhew the utmoſt of her Care in cheriſhing her Husband in time of Sickneſs ; to provide him ſuch Neceſſaries as his infirm Condition does require ; to Miniſter to him frequently with her own Hands ; to have a watchful Eye over others who Officiate about him ; readily to bear with the Trouble which his Diſtemper ſhall create, and the peeviſhneſs which may go along with it ; to uſe all poſſible means for his recovery ; and if he happens to miſcarry at laſt, to follow him with a Flood of Tears to the Grave, and even till her own Death, to honour his Aſhes.

4. Another Duty of the Wife, is Care of the Family.

The Apoſtle lays it down, *Care of the Family.* as a part of the Duty of thoſe young Women who Marry, *to guide the Houſe,* 1 Tim. 5. 14. And the wiſe Man draws a moſt admirable Picture of a good Miſtreſs of a Family. *She will do her Husband good and not Evil all the Days of her Life. She ſeeketh Wool and Flax, and worketh willingly with her Hands. She*

*is like the Merchants Ships, she bringeth her Food from afar, she rises also whilst it is yet Night, and giveth Meat to her Housbould, and a Portion to her Maidens, Prov. 31. 13. 14, &c.* To the end of the Chapter. Which excellent Lesson by the way, is but sorrowfully observed by those Wives, who not only come Strangers into a Family at first, but resolve to continue so in it as long as they live, who walk about it as unconcern'd at every thing they see or hear, as if they came thither only to pay a Visit there. But Persons of Fortune, may plead in their Excuse, that they have Substitutes under them to do their parts therein. But how small a Shadow of an Excuse is this? Why do they not say their Prayers likewise by Proxy? Why do they not as well provide Substitutes for their Husbands Bed? Why do they not provide them Heirs to their Estates by the like delegated Duty? I am very serious in these odd Comparisons; for I am sure there is as much Reason for one, as for the other, and the *looking after the Family*, is as much a Personal Duty of the Wife, as any of these; it is as much the Command of God, and a necessary Charge incumbent upon her. If she does not take Care of these Affairs herself;

self, Servants will do therein not what they ought, but what they please ; and for the Ravages and Spoils which are made in a Family, by such negligence, she can neither Answer it to God Almighty, nor to her Husband. The Government of the Family is in great Measure her peculiar Province, which is continually subject to her Eye, whilst the Affairs of the Husband do necessitate his more frequent Absence from it. She is to observe and overlook the Negligence, the Wasts, the ill-manners and Contentions of the Servants ; to direct for the more careful and handsom spending of the Provisions, to look after the Food and Raiment, and well ordering of the Children ; but above all their good Instruction in their Childhood, when they are more peculiarly under her Care. These are too great Charges to be turned over to Substitutes ; and the Troubles and Disorders which arise in those Families, where these Duties have formerly been neglected ; make Women, in their more serious Years, most sadly Repent them of their trusting these Matters to others, to be the more at leisure to Prosecute those foolish Vanities, which their giddy Youth did prompt them to. I wish these things were

seriously laid to Heart, by those whom God has called to the Government of great Families, which are a sort of Seminaries to the Common-wealth; and if particular Care be not taken both of the numerous Servants, which are therein Educated, as well as the Children; when they remove thence, they will diffuse the Vices far and near through the Nation, which they either learnt there, or grew into them for want of due Reprehension.

5. Another Duty of the Wife, is *Frugality*.

*Frugality.* Frugality, as it does import a Carefulness about the Expenses of the Family, that no waste be committed therein by Servants, but that every thing should be made to go as far as with Conveniency and handiownness it may, and that no vain cost be admitted in Diet or Furniture, which are inconsistent with the Husbands Circumstances, as on the other hand, That a regard be had to avoid stinginess, and keeping House after a sordid pitiful manner, contrary to the Honour of the Family and plentifulness of the Estate; whereby, neither friendly Neighbours are well Entertain'd, nor the Poor relieved in the manner, which a good

good Mistress of a Family must take Care they should. These Branches of the Conjugal Duty belongs to the Wife, as she is Governess of the Family. But further, it is a Duty incumbent upon the Wife, That she should not put her Husband to any extravagant Charge in the Costliness of her Apparel, or any other unnecessary Expences. The Apostle does excellently set out the Particulars of their Duty in this matter. *In like manner also, that the Women adorn themselves in modest Apparel, with shamefacedness and Sobriety : Not with broidered Hair, or Gold or Pearls or costly Array ; but ( which becometh Women professing Godliness ) with good Works.* Not that these things are absolutely unlawful for Christian Women , but that they ought not to make use of those costly Ornaments, unless they be placed in such a high Fortune, as does for distinction sake, require them. But for Women of lower Quality, that they may gratifie their foolish Vanity, to put their Husbands to the most prodigious Expences, to wear that upon their Backs, which ought to fill their Families Bellies ; to squander that away in extravagant Gaming, which ought to go to satisfy the just Debts of needy Creditors ; to flutter about

a Year or two making a glaring Figure, and pleasing their idle Fancies with a few unnecessary Gaieties, whilst by the same means, they condemn their Husbands for their life time to the stench of a Jail, or the other Miseries of a forlorn Poverty: This is such a cruel Act of Injustice, and such a barbarous kind of Vanity, as one would think nothing which pretends to Reason could be guilty of, as nothing which does partake of the tenderness of the Feminine Nature, could put a dear and loving Husband upon. I know not whether *Nero*, when he fiddled over the Flames of burning *Rome* was so wickedly vain, as that Wife is, who foresees her Husbands destruction, necessarily ensuing her Extravagancies, whilst she still by repeated Vanities accelerates his Pain, and every Day more and more plung him into an irretrevable Condition, a sacrificing thereby the Welfare of him and her dear Children, to the Satisfaction of her ridiculous Follies.

6. The Last Duty of the Wife which I shall mention, is *Chastity*.

*Chastity.* The expectation of this, is what chiefly inclines the Husband to enter into Matrimony, 'tis what God Almighty did principally design, by instituting

instituting single Marriage; for unless the Wife does preserve the Bed entire, Men would fall into all the Difficulties, and Uncertainties in relation to their Offspring, as they would find in a Vagrant Love, which they enter into Marriage purposely to avoid. And therefore in every Age, Adultery has been lookt upon as the blackest of Crimes, and has had the severest Penalties inflicted on it; Because it Violates the strongest Ties of Nature and Religion, and brings such Miseries upon a Family, as none but those who have the Experience thereof, can Estimate them. It commonly perpetuates an Act of the most horrid Injustice to the Husbands Family, by imposing spurious Heirs upon it; and oftentimes, thro' the uncertainty of the Childrens Original, breeds an unkindness and a hatred to the true ones: An Injustice which to discover, is the most intolerable shame in this World; and to dye hiding the Imposture, is Eternal Damnation in the next. Therefore those wicked Women, who in despite of the guards peculiar to their Sex, their natural Modesty and Timorousness, can break in upon this Vice, they are some of the boldest of all Offenders; who can brave Hell to its very Mouth,  
and

and venture upon the Flames, which they have not the ordinary fond hopes of other Sinners to escape. For those who are Guilty of other Acts of Injustice, may lay hold upon the usual Condition of the Gospel for Pardon, by making a due Restitution upon Repentance; but those lewd Women, who go out of the World, and rather than Discover their shame, will *knowingly* defraud the true Heir of the Family of his Right, they have no Terms, that I know of, in the Covenant of Jesus Christ to be saved by. A Consideration, which is enough to awaken the Thoughts of the most hardned Sinners; and to give them Reflection of the hazzard they run one time or other, either of undergoing an unsupportable Shame, or a more unsupportable Misery. But these Considerations are proper only for a very few. But further, Wives ought not only to preserve the Marriage Bed entire, but to let their Chastity shine forth in their modest Discourse and Behaviour; for the Conjugal Honour, is tainted much by ill Discourse and imprudent Action, as if Wives were Guilty of grosser Sins. For these outward Appearances, are all the World is able to Judge by, and if they will talk and behave themselves

themselves like ill Women, they must share the Scandal and Ignominy of such. Which Fault of such imprudent Women is the greater, because the Reproach is not born by themselves only, but the Dishonour lighting hard upon the Husband, his Family, and her Children likewise. Nay, the Wife is not only obliged to avoid any Actions which are in themselves Suspicious, and look untowardly in the Eyes of most Men ; but also, those Actions which give uneasiness and Suspicion to her own Husband, altho' the Grounds thereof be but slender, and He be in the Fault for misconstruing Actions, which if more discreetly View'd, carry in them only an Air of innocent Freedom. For in such Cases, the Wife is to give way to a Jealous Temper, thereby to continue Peace and mutual Affection, which are oftentimes much weakened by a pertinacious Adherence to some Indifferencies, which a Husband out of mistake has conceived a distaste against. For Jealous Husbands are never cured by a Stomachful Opposition ; it only makes them mistrust that their Wives have some Affection more than ordinary to gratifie, by those Actions which they find them so very tenacious of.

I now come to the Third Particular.

### III. To shew the fitness of discharging these Duties.

I. Now First, it is fit that Wives should exactly discharge these Duties, as they are Christians. *This is the fitness in the Lord,* which the Apostle mentions in the Text. For Christians

*For the Excellency of the Christian Religion.*

are to do something more than ordinary in every Station they are in, and above what common Nature does require; it expects some Hights and Exactness, which are worthy of the Holy Profession they are called to. If *Heathen* Women were Tender and Loving, the Christian Wives must be Obedient and Dutiful. If they took a particular Care of their Families, these must put up their continual Prayers to Heaven for every Member of them, and take Care of their Souls, as well as their Bodies. If they loved and cherished their Husbands as long as they lived, these must pay an everlasting Honour to their Memory, and not offer an affront to it, by either the hastiness, or the Inequality of a Second Marriage. If they were

were true to their Husbands Bed, these ought not to blemish the Fidelity of it, by so much as a Thought or a Wish, nor to offer a stain to the Conjugal Honour by an uncircumspect behaviour. But since there have not been wanting Women in the *Heathen* World, who have performed their Parts in these Duties to the most admirable Perfection ; it is an everlasting Blot to a Woman professing Christianity, to be Guilty of those Faults which *Pagans* avoided ; and under the light of the Gospel to be ill Wives, when others, by the direction of Nature only, become so good ones.

2. These Duties are fit to be discharged, because they conduce so much to the Peace and Prosperity of a Family where they are practised. What ever Duties

*Advantages to a Family.*

Christianity obliges to, are not only fit to be done by some latent Reason known to God alone ; but have a very obvious Rectitude and *fitness* in them, which every one is Judge of the reasonableness of, from the natural Tendency they have to the happiness of human Society. So in particular, Wives, by discharging their Conjugal Duties aright, do not only please God, but do thereby procure a

Peace

Peace and Happiness to themselves, and Families likewise. What admirable Peace and Amity does reign in that House, where the Wife discharges the foreſaid Duties with a Conſcience and Exactneſs? No bickerings and diſcontents, no peeviſh Animofities can ariſe, where the Wife by a tender Love, and a ſweet and obliging Behaviour, does charm even the moſt ſtormy Temper into Reaſon and Calmneſs. What Exactneſs and good Order is to be ſeen in that Family, where the Eyes of a good and Prudent Miſtreſs, take Cognizance of the Irregularities of her Servants, and ſuffer them to do nothing contrary to the fear God or their Maſters Intereſt? How Dutiful and Religious by the ordinary Grace of God, do the Children prove which are Educated by ſuch a Mother? What great Comforts are they to their Parents, and what brave Lights in their Generation? As on the other ſide, what a diſmal ſcene of Strife and Contention is there beheld, where Wives indulge themſelves in diſorderly Paſſion, and a Spirit of Provocation, and want that Modeſty and Prudence of Behaviour which their Religion obliges them to? How miſerable do their Families become oftentimes by their Vanity,

or

or Negligence ? How wicked do their Children prove by neglecting their Instruction, and how vain and Passionate by their Fondness ? In short, if Men have any Reason in Marriages, for their avoiding a Disparity of Fortune or Quality, for fear of lessening the Honour and Figure of a Family ; they have a Thousand times more Reason to decline all Proposals where a pious Education, a goodness of Temper, and strong Inclinations to Vertue are wanting ; for the lack of these, brings much more of Inconvenience and Mischief, than the greatest Honour and Riches can afford of Advantage ; and wherever these excellent Qualities do abound, they are a Dignity and Possession which are not to be estimated ; they will Convey a lasting Happiness to all the Descendants from so Holy a Bed, and will Entail the Blessing of God, and the Advantages of a religious Education to the future Branches of a Family ; nay, even to those remoter Generations, to which neither the Honour nor Estate can possibly descend.

Now for the Close of all, I shall in a Word or Two apply my self to those to whom the Apostle has given the Exhortation of the Text, and whose Words I

I have

have been now Explaining. I would not have you think, that I have engaged my self in this Discourse, to take a share in the foolish Railery of the Age, which Custom has made to run very much upon this Subject, and given Occasion for the Wives to be upbraided for the least Violations of their Duty, even by those Husbands who make no Conscience of the broadest Excesses in their own. You know I have not intruded upon this Matter, without being called to it by the Order of the Duties I am upon ; tho' if I had made my way into it with more Abruptness, I might have sufficient Reason for it, as thereby entring upon a Subject, which we are generally drove off from by the ludicrous Temper of the Age ; which however, is not the less necessary, because People will not attend to it with a due seriousness. There is no Point of Christianity which I know, which ought to be made a jest of ; they are all equally Reasonable and equally Holy, and ought to be considered with the same Sobriety and devout attention ; and I hope what I have said here will be received so. I have no design to find Fault, but to Instruct ; and tho' at present, I have touch'd only upon some neglects of the Wo-

men

men in their Duty, yet I do not think, for all the usual Banter of the World, they are more at Fault this way than the other Sex. Nay, I must needs declare, that the Piety of the Women, does in a great degree keep up the Credit of Religion in this wicked Age; it is the numbers of that Sex which are constantly present at the publick Prayers, and Communion of the Church, and which make those Ordinances in many places so well attended. Nay further, I do verily believe, that in Respect of the Conjugal Duties, where there is one Wife who is diligent therein, there do great Numbers abound of the other Sex, who are notorious Violators of them. But however, there are very few Wives so perfect in their Duty, but if they please, are capable of making some improvement therein; and I cannot but think, that the time wherein we live, affords a more special call to it. A Time wherein the Holy Ordinance of Matrimony, together with the rest of the Divine Institutions, is impiously insulted by Men of lew'd and irreligious Principles; and the least miscarriages of Wives are aggravated into an intolerable Yoke, and a part of the Bondage which Priest-craft as they call it, has laid them under. But a

Conscientious Observation of your Duty in this kind, is the most ready Argument in your way, to stop the Mouths of such Wretches. Let them behold in you, the Religion and Goodness of a Christian Matron, the Modesty and Sweetness, the Love and Tenderneſs, the Peaceableneſs and Compliance, the Care and Frugality, with the other Virtues which your Holy Religion inſpires you with ; and then let them compare you with the Vanity and Impudence, the Treachery and Falſeneſs, the Pride, Extravagance, the Profaneneſs and Rottenneſs of thoſe deſpicable Creatures, which they pretend to ſet up againſt you. This is the beſt laid Expedient, to convince lewd Men of the Folly of their Wickedneſs ; This will be an infallible means of ſaving your own Souls, and a probable one of Converting others from the Errors of their Ways.

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The D U T Y of  
**Parishioners**

(and other of the *Lapety*)  
 TO THEIR  
 Pastors *and* Clergy.

Discourse V.

1 Theff. v. xiii. xiv.

*And we beseech you Brethren to know  
 them which Labour among you,  
 and are over you in the Lord, and  
 Admonish you.*

*And to esteem them very highly in  
 Love for their Works sake.*

**I**T is not necessary to enter into a Dispute, whether these Words have not a particular Regard to the Bishops of the Church, who are set over the Faithful for

their Edification, by the highest Authority which Christ has granted ; or whether they are not understood of the Subordinate Pastors, and the lesser Flocks which are committed to their Charge. The Words being general, may very well be understood of both ; or if they should have relation to the former only ; the Reason which the Apostle gives for the Duties here required, do hold for the Kindness and Respect of Christians to their inferior Pastor, in proportion to his Labours and his Station, as well as their Bishop. *I beseech you Brethren to know them which Labour among you, &c.* By *knowing*, or *taking Notice of them that Labour among you*, must then be meant, by paying Honour, Reverence, and all other Duties which are owing from Christians to their Minister in the Gospel. For by *knowing* in Scripture, is oftentimes understood Honour and Esteem. So Mat. 7. 25. *I will profess unto you I never know you,* That is, I never took any Notice of, or had any regard for you. So 2 Cor. 5. 16. *Wherefore, henceforth know we no Man after the Flesh.* That is, we have no Value or Respect for any thing in this World, in comparison of Heavenly things. And these Duties the Apostle does

does inforce, by reason of the Care and Labour which they lay out upon them, *Esteem them very highly in Love for their Works sake*; as also, by Reason of the Authority which they have over them. *Know them which are over you in the Lord, &c.*

So that what I shall Discourse upon these Words, I shall reduce to these Two Heads.

I. The Duty which Christians owe to their own Pastors, and other Ministers of the Gospel *for their Works sake*, or upon Account of their Preaching the Gospel, and taking Care of Mens Souls.

II. The Unreasonableness of the usual Disrespects and Affronts, which the Clergy meet with in this Age and Nation.

I. The *Duties* which Christians owe to their own Pastors, and other Ministers of the Gospel *for their Works sake*, or upon Account of their Preaching the Gospel, and taking Care of Mens Souls.

1. The First Duty which I shall mention, is Love.

Love. And of this, the Apostle St. Paul gives an admirable Instance in the *Galatians* ; who, he says, received him as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus, and if it had been possible, they would have plucked out their own Eyes, and given them to him, Gal. 4 14, 15. It is not reasonable to expect such Eminent Degrees of Love from Christians to their Pastors in these Ages. But, without some Degree of Love, their Ministerial Offices will not be Crowned with that Success, which is to be desired. If People will behave themselves Peevishly, Contentiously, and Cenforiously towards their Minister, he may Preach till his Heart akes, and they little the better for it. They may say, they are not prejudiced for all this to his Doctrines and Instructions, but 'tis plain they are ; and every thing worse said by another, whom they have a Fancy to, is better liked. Therefore, if Men expect that the ordinary means of Salvation should have Effect upon them, they must resolve to Love their Ministers ; if for no other Qualification, yet barely for his Works sake.

For

For hatred in the Soul, is like a Jaundice in the Eye, it lets in every thing with a wrong Colour; and People must lay this aside, if ever they intend to Profit by their Ministers Instructions.

2. The Second Duty of Christians to the Gospel Ministers, is *Maintenance.*

This is plainly Taught in the Holy Scripture. *Let Elders that Rule well be counted worthy of double Honour, (i. e. Reward) especially they who Labour in the Word and Doctrine; for the Scripture saith, thou shalt not muzzle the Ox that treadeth out the Corn; and the Laborer is worthy of his Reward. 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. Let him that is Taught in the Word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good Things, Gal. 6. 6. And this is the Doctrine likewise of our Blessed Lord himself, who sent out his Apostles to Preach without any Provision of Gold or Silver or Brass, &c. Permitting them only to depend on the Benevolence of the Faithful, giving this Reason thereof, for the Workman is worthy of his Meat, Mat. 10. 9. 10. Therefore in those Places, where the Maintenance of the Minister depends on the voluntary Contribution of the Congregation,*

on, the People must do what lies in their Power to provide a comfortable Maintenance for their Minister, to make his Circumstances easie to him, that he may the better attend to the Studies of his Calling, and to the Care of the Souls under his Charge. And so likewise, where the Revenues of the Church are settled upon him, but are to go through their Hands, they must take Care they do not defraud him of them, but to pay them with a willing Mind; for this is a Debt wherein God himself is concerned, who is the great Proprietor of the Church Revenues, they being conveyed and made over to him by the pious Donors of them; and injuriously to detain them, is not only an Act of high Injustice, but also of Sacrilege. Indeed, in this licentious Age, Men oftentimes make a Jest of cheating their Ministers, and think it a handsome Turn of Wit to purloin, or keep back from them what is their due. But why is not other Cozenage as much a Jest too? Are the Ministers Revenues less due to him than the Kings or any private Mans Income to their respective Owners? Do not the same Laws invest Church-men in their Estates, as the Lascity in theirs, do Men by their Titles in their

their Purchase, which they so often injuriously detain? Would such unjust Men be willing that their Coppy-holders should withhold, or make default in Payment of their Quit-rents, or give them as much trouble in the receiving them, as they often do their Ministers in obtaining of their Due? If Men had no regard to Religion, and the positive Command of God; yet common Justice and Humanity, should restrain them from such injurious dealing towards their Ministers.

13. Another Duty of Christians to their Ministers in the Gospel is *Obedience*.

The Apostle lays down this Rule. *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit your selves: For they watch over your Souls, as they that must give Account, that they may do it with Joy and not with Grief, for that is unprofitable for you,* Heb. 13. 17. Not that Men ought to pay an unlimited Obedience to the Wills of their Pastors in all things whatsoever, which they shall think fit to Command them: But that they should seriously attend to, and Conscientiously follow those Spiritual Instructions, which they receive from them for the Edification of their Souls.

Souls. The generality of People have Heads too full of Business and worldly Concerns, to understand the matters of Religion so fully and perfectly, as those whose Calling 'tis to apply themselves to such Studies. And therefore the Advice of our Ministers in Spiritual Concerns, is to be followed with the same Readiness as that of learned and knowing Men in other Professions. But the Vanity and Irreligion of this Age, has filled Mens Minds with such Jealousie of being Priest-ridden, as they call it, that a great many People are more inclined to fall in with the wild Notions of every little Pretender to Divinity, than with the Doctrine of their Pastors. They think this Qualifies them to set up for Men of more Sense than ordinary, when they pretend to be more Wise than their Teachers. But if the received Doctrine of the Church was what they stickle for, such Men out of meer Vanity, would as eagerly Espouse what they now Oppose. God knows where this giddy Humour will carry People at last. 'Tis to be feared, we shall stand up for this sort of *Sense* so long, till we have lost all *Religion*. But why are Men so deadly afraid of being imposed upon by their Clergy? What grounds are

are

are there for the present mighty Outcries of the Cheats of *Mystery*? Indeed, did we Preach up Purgatory, Indulgencies, Masses for Mens Souls, &c. there was something to be got by it; but the Doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation, are things which I don't know any Body that gets a Farthing by it. So that upon the whole, here is a Craft most deeply design'd to get no Advantage, nor any other Benefit in this World, unless now and then to be teized by some *Infidel* Wits.

4. Another Duty owing to the Gospel Ministers, is Honour or *Respect*.

This is the particular Doctrine of the Text, where Christians are commanded to *know*, or take honorable Notice of *Them who Labour among them*, and to *Esteem them highly in Love for their Works sake*. And they are advised likewise to *hold such in reputation*; Phil. 2. 2. Therefore, People must take Care to pay to their Ministers all the Marks of outward Honour, and all the inward Respect which is due to that Holy Function, and which is owing to those who are concerned in the Discharge of an Office, which is exercised in Matters of the greatest

greatest Moment in the World to us;  
Namely, the taking Care of our Souls.

But I shall speak more of this under the  
next Head, wherein I am to shew,

II. The Unreasonableness of the usual  
Disrespects and Affronts, which the  
Clergy meet with in this Age and  
Nation.

And to do this the more distinctly, I  
shall pursue this following Method.

I. I shall shew the inexcusable of those  
Men, who make it their business to  
Abuse and Vilifie the Clergy.

II. The Reasons Men have to Respect  
them.

I. I shall shew the inexcusableness of  
those Men that make it their business to  
Abuse and Vilifie the Clergy.

There are Two great Rules, which all  
Men that value their Fame or Reputation  
do generally, or at least would seem, square  
their Actions by; and these are Reason  
and Honour: They are ashamed to do  
any

any thing which they can give no reasonable Account of, and which the World will call them Fools for doing; they abhor to commit an Action, that should look mean or pitiful, or which should be any ways inconsistent with the Character of Honour and Bravery which they aspire to; and they never blame, or indeed Contemn a Man more than when he acts contrary to these Sentiments.

Now I shall from these Principles alone, shew how inexcusable those Men are, who use so frequently to Abuse and Vilifie the Clergy.

1. Because it is a Thing unreasonable, and for which they give no tolerable Account for their doing.
2. Because it is an ungenerous and dishonourable thing, and argues an extraordinary meanness and littleness of Soul.

1. Because it is a thing unreasonable, and for which they can give no tolerable Account for their doing.

Indeed, there can be no true and rational Account given for abusing any of Gods Creatures; and nothing can Countenance

tenance our Contempt of any Man, but Notorious and open Sin and Wickedness : And here too, we must distinguish between the Person and the Crime, tho' we abominate the one, we ought to do all Offices of Kindness and Charity to the other. But setting aside this, I shall shew, that That Treatment which the Clergy meet with from some Persons, is highly unreasonable ; because they have not so much as the ordinary Grounds of Contempt against them, which they usually require before they presume to Despise, or Disrespect any other Persons.

Now there are but Three Things, which any Men of Sense ever pretend to Disrespect and Vilifie another for ; and those are these.

1. The meanest and sordidness of their Employ.
2. Their Ignorance, and
3. Their Vices.

Now I shall shew, That generally these Imputations do not lie against the Clergy of our Church ; and therefore reasonably They cannot be the Object of any Mans Contempt or Disrespect. I purposely omit here Poverty, uncomeliness of Personage,

sonage, want of Court-like Address, Language, Compliment, and the like ; which tho' some vain Persons are so silly as to despise others for, yet generally they are so Wise as not to own it. And besides, the Clergy too, have indisputably their share in these Accomplishments, as well as their Neighbours ; and therefore 'tis not worth while to insist upon these, Therefore I proceed to shew, that

I. Men have no Reason to Vilifie the Clergy from the meanness, or sordidness of their Employ.

Indeed, there are some kind of Employs in the World, that carry such a sort of baseness in their Nature and Execution, as raises an Aversion to them in Men of a generous Birth or Education, and makes them choose rather to beg or starve, than to get a Livelihood by them. Such are the lowest Offices of Servility and Drudgery, those that Administer to the Pride and Vanity in Mankind, and those that are Subservient to Mens Lust or other Vices. Now if the Gentlemen that are wont so to Vilifie the Clergy, could do it upon any of these Accounts, they might do it with some tolerable Sense

*Meanness of  
Employ, no  
Ground so de-  
spise the Cler-  
gy.*

and Reason. But they have not the least Shadow of a pretence to object any thing of this Nature against them. For there is nothing in their Employ, but what is so far from being mean and base, that (as we shall shew by and by) it is Great and Honourable. But setting aside the peculiar Dignity which accrues to them from their immediate Service to God ; there is nothing in all their Office that carries in it any thing that looks like base or despicable : There is nothing but what shews as handsome a Face and Appearance, as any other Profession whatsoever. What more unhandfomeness is there in performing a Publick Office in the Church, than doing a Publick Duty in a Court of Justice ? Why should it be thought a more mean and unbecoming Action, to offer up Petitions for the People to Almighty God, than to deliver in the same to a Magistrate ? Why is it a more unseemly thing to make Prayers to God, to procure his Love, or to deprecate his Vengeance ; than to make fine Speeches, to gain the Favour of a Judge, or to influence the Affection of a Jury ? What is there more Scandalous in Peaching than in Pleading ? And Why should it not be as Creditable to explain  
the

the Law of God, as the Law of the Land ? And why should it not be as Honourable to Study the Bible, as *Galen* or *Hipocrates* ? What more disgrace does a Man contract in Visiting the Sick for their Souls, than if he did the same for their Bodies Health. Why should a Man be more despised for Manifesting the Riches of Gods Grace, and the Glories of the other World ; than for trading in the Riches of *Turky* or *Indies* ? I have here made a parallel between the Offices of the Ministry, and those of the most Creditable Professions among us ; and I leave any impartial Man to judge, if ours be not as handsome a way of getting a Livelihood, and as free from any thing of sordidness as theirs ? Nay farther, give me leave to add, if the Dignity of a Profession does arise from the Subject of it ; then I am sure, that the Office of the Ministry doth excel all other Professions, as much as Religion does Art, or the other World this. What little Things do they busie themselves about, in comparison with those Noble Truths which are the Subject of our Employment ? Whilst they Labour only to patch up the sinking Frame of a decaying Body, to provide Food or Raiment for it, or to

secure us a spot of Ground for a few Years Possession, and this is all that these do ; but they that Labour in the Gospel, are still exercising their Thoughts upon the Glorious Truths of God and Religion : 'Tis their business to Contemplate all the wonderful surprizing Attributes of God, and the Gloriousness of his Being, to trace out the Mysterious Tracks of his Providence, and to consider his unspeakable Love and Beneficence : To Study and Admire the amazing Methods of our Redemption, and the admirable Effects of that unbounded Mercy. Their Employ gives them the happiness of a more intimate Acquaintance with Gods Word ; to unfold many advantageous Truths, which lie wrapt up in these sacred Books ; and satiate their Souls with those Divine Comforts : They make a continual search into the dictates of Nature, and take in all the Noble Compass of Morality ; They shew what is brave and becoming, and what is scandalous and beneath a rational Being : 'Tis they whose business 'tis to distinguish the Paths of *Vice* and *Vertue*, exhorting Men to the one, and diswading them from the other. In short, they are wholly taken up in making Men wiser, and happier, and better. The meanest  
part

part of this Duty was esteemed so Noble by *Antoninus* the wisest of the *Roman* Emperors, that he esteemed the Name of Philosopher, or Moralist to have more Glory in it than all his Triumphs and Titles ; and yet there are a Thousand Truths, which Revelation has afforded us, a Thousand times more Noble than ever Philosophy or Morality could attain to. So that upon the whole, the Profession of the Clergy, is so far raised above Contempt from others, that considering these mighty Advantages they enjoy ; They should rather be tempted to look down with scorn upon the unhappy Multitude of Mankind, who feel nothing of these Pleasures, and are bereft of these Advantages.

2. Men have no Reason to Vilifie the Clergy for their Folly or their Ignorance.

I believe no one can think that the Clergy are born Fools more than other Men ; or that their Orders make them so. They have undoubtedly the same Souls as other Men have, and an equal share of Sense. A Man certainly cannot loose his Intellectuals by betaking himself to this

*The Ignorance  
of our Clergy,  
no Ground of  
Disrespect.*

Profession, or by going in such a Habit. We may have as much Brains (in a Ministers, as in a Lawyers Gown) and may talk as good Sense from the Pulpit as at the Bar. Nay, I will be judged by any one, if their Education does not set them above the generality of the World; and if they have not gained something more of Sense by their being bred Scholars. But I will add further; that at this time of Day, for Men to object Ignorance to the Clergy, is the surest way to expose their own: for I will be bold to say, that not only no Nation now, but no Age heretofore, could ever shew a Clergy so universally learned as this of ours. 'Tis not now with us, as it was Two Hundred Years ago; when to Eat and Sleep, and take Confessions was the Life of the lazy Priesthood; we have every where now a glut of Learning, our ordinary Sermons now, outdo the Lectures from the Chair at those times; and generally Pulpits are now supplied by Men, that are not only able to Instruct, but even to Charm their Auditors. Therefore, let him that can despise the Clergy for their Ignorance and Folly, read the Histories and Sermons of Monks and Seculars, in former times, let him converse with the Clergy  
of

of *Italy* and *Spain* : Nay, even for the generality of *France* it self ; and then I will give him leave to despise the Ignorant Clergy of the Church of *England*.

3. Men have no reason to Villifie the Clergy, for the Vices of particular Persons of it.

*Particular  
Mens Vices, no  
Ground for the  
Contempt of  
the Order.*

If Men were to hate and despise, and rail at every Order and Society of Men, because of the ill Men in it ; we should have but a very unquiet Life of it. By this Rule, we must hate humane Nature it self ; because we have so many Villains in our Shape ; or because the generality of Mankind are either Idolatrous, or Superstitious, or Dissolute, or Irreligious. Nay, we must hate our Country, our Religion, our very Family and our Kindred ; because there are ill People among all these. 'Tis not to be expected, but that among many Men, there will be some bad. Among but Twelve Apostles, there was one Traitor ; and can we expect to be more happy in the Twelve Thousand Clergy of this Nation ? I dare say no Clergy in the World, has proportionably fewer ill Men, for all the talk of our Adversaries : Indeed, no

Clergy has more clamour against them, and I believe no Clergy gives less occasion for it. Were the same Mouths open'd against the Clergy of *France* or *Holland*, as are against ours, they would quickly make cry enough for the whole World. But if the Clergy be so vitious as they pretend, why do they not make complaint of the offending Parties, to those that will take Cognizance of them, and oblige them to amendment? Is not the Bishop fitter to be complained to, of such Offences than a publick Company, or those that are avow'd Enemies of the Church? or however, if this were not a more legal, it were certainly a more Christian and charitable way. No! this would be to lay open the fallacy; this would be to silence the Cry; it would bring some few Offenders indeed to Punishment, but would perfectly absolve and vindicate the rest, which would never serve their turn, whose Interest it is to involve them all under the same Guilt and Imputation.

*Obj.* But some good and disinterested People, do cry out against the too great freedom of our Clergy, and that they do not in their outward Behaviour, shew that eminent Piety and Sense of Religion which they ought.

*Ans.*

*Ans.* I will consider this a little more particularly. This objection does not hold universally against the Clergy of our Church ; because there is a great many that live with that known strictness and austerity, with so great self denial and Contempt of the World, with so much Patience and Humility, with so much Modesty and Resignation to the Divine Pleasure ; with so much Zeal and Charity and Devotion, that even the chiefest Saints of the Primitive times, have hardly outwent them in the strictest and hardest Parts of Religion.

2. There may be a many good Men that may not come up to this perfection of Holiness, and yet ought not to be blamed for Vitious and Irreligious. There are Degrees of Grace in this World, as well as Degrees of Glory in the other : As one Saint shall differ from another in Glory, so may one Man from another in Vertue ; They may be both good, and yet not equally so. Therefore we do ill to Tax all Men for lack of Religion, who do not come up to the Top Point of it. Besides, all Men have not opportunity of letting their Light shine before Men, with that Advantage as some have ; many good Clergy-Men are buried in some dark Corners

ners of the Nation, their Light is concluded within the Circle of a small Parish, whilst others, that are placed in a more conspicuous Station, are like Lights set upon a Hill, they shine to all around them, and widely display their Vertue. In others, Modesty hinders their Appearance with an extraordinary mein of Piety, for fear of being too much taken Notice of in a profane Generation ; the Youth of others is a Bar to them, for fear their Austerity should seem affected, and beyond their Years ; and others are willing to conceal a great deal of their inward Piety, that they might not be taxed with the foul Crimes of Hypocrisie. And if this last be a Fault, we may thank them in the late times, who under an extraordinary guise of Sanctity, encouraged Rebellion, Sacrilege and Murder, and have entail'd such a lasting Scandal upon the outward form of Piety, as hath made all good Men ever since perhaps too careful of using it.

3. An innocent freedom in Matters of this Life, is no ways Inconsistent with the State of the Gospel, or the Character of a Minister of it. Christ did not design his Religion only for the Phlegmatick and Melancholy, for down looks and distorted Countenances ; as if it were the  
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Mark of a Saint to look sad and ghastly, and to walk about like a fullen speechless Apparition. An Innocent joy, is one of the peculiar Priviledges of good Men, for all others have cause to sorrow ; and therefore they do very much prejudice Religion, that turn it into dejectedness and Melancholy. And so it is for other freedoms in eating or drinking, or Furniture or Apparel : There is no Man of what calling soever, that is abridged the use of these, if he takes Care not to go beyond the Rules of Temperance and Sobriety ; which is to be calculated by every Mans own impartial Reasons, agreeable to his *Constitution, Ability, Function*, and the like. If Men will censure the Clergy for making use of these Priviledges, 'tis their Fault alone which take the scandal when none is given ; the Innocent Sufferers must abide the Imputation as patiently as they can, especially since 'tis no more than what our Saviour has foretold of those that Preach in his Name ; nay, 'tis no more than what he himself suffered ; who for the same Innocent freedoms, was esteemed a *Glutton and a Wine-bibber, a Friend of Publicans and Sinners*.

2. I shall now in the Second place, shew the inexcusableness of those Men,  
that

that so generally Abuse and Vilifie the Clergy; because it is an ungenerous and dishonourable thing, and argues an extraordinary Meanness and Littleness of Spirit. And that.

I. Because they do this without any manner of Provocation.

*'Tis a mean Spirit to abuse Men without Provocation.*

How often are poor Men expos'd to Affronts, purely because they are Ministers?

How frequently are they made a scorn to Fools, and forc'd to suffer the Reproach and Contumely, and what is worse, the witless Buffoonery of silly Persons, who have nothing else to revile them with, but only their Profession? Nay, in Persons of more good Nature, and more good Breeding, how commonly may we find an extraordinary Satisfaction at a Reproach cast upon one of that Order? How is every thing, tho' never so silly, insipid, and full of Plegm, thought to be smartly said, if a Clergy-Man be the Subject of it? How shall every hardship that can be found, or that can be contriv'd, be laid upon these Men; in hindring them of their Dues, or in burdening their Revenues? Which, because other Men are free from the same Difficulties, can be imputed to no other cause, than

than a disgust against our Profession.

Now, how ungenerous a Principle is this, to abuse a Man that has done us no harm, because we have no fancy to his Calling? Let his Calling be what it will, since he Lives innocently and inoffensively among them, for what Reason should they abuse him for it? Men generally, upon pure Principles of good Nature, are withheld from abusing any harmless Creature whatsoever, tho' it be Brute and Irrational; they are only Fierce and Cruel to those that are of a Cruel and Savage Nature. Now, why should we deny this common Equity to our own fellow Creatures, which we allow to the Beasts of the Field? Why should we exercise a causeless cruelty against an Innocent Man, which the tenderness of human Nature would Reproach us for, did we give the same usage to an Ox or a Sheep? How contrary is this to all the Principles of Generosity, the property whereof is to defend the Innocent, and to protect them against the Injuries of insolent Aggressors? How contrary to all Justice and Honour, to abuse those Men that are so far from doing us harm, that it is their Business and Employ to do us good? If this usage does not shew the height of ungenerousness

roufness and baseness, of ill Nature and Cruelty, and of every thing that is little and pitiful ; there are then no such things as these in the World.

2. Because they do this to Persons that cannot defend themselves.

*And who can  
not return it.*

A brave Man will never contend with a weak and unequal Adversary, because he knows he shall get no Credit by the Victory. But 'tis the Coward that will hector and domineer, and shew his Valour and his Wit, where he knows he shall find no opposition. I do not say, there is a Natural weakness and incapacity of this generally in the Clergy ; for there are among them, Men of Wit and Parts, and Spirit and Vigour, that could pay these Gentlemen off, in as good Coyn as they bring ; for 'tis not Cowardise which withholds them, but the Laws and Religion ; and they could if they please, be as smart upon the Wits, as the Wits are upon the Doctors. But these Men know that Revenge is contrary to their Character, and the Religion they Teach, and therefore, they presume that Affronts may be offered there without danger ; 'tis secure, they think, to insult over a Man, that has no other defence than the sacredness of his Profession ;  
for

for that can do them no harm till the other World. *Egregiam vero laudem spolia ampla refertis.* A wonderful piece and a noble Triumph of Glory this! To be Victors where none oppose, to spend all the Artillery of our Raillery and Wit, upon those who must be so far from Revenge, that they must *do good to them that despihtfully use them*; to vomit out their abusive Ribauldry against those that must imitate their Lord and Master, *who when reviled, reviled not again.* If this be not a sign of of a little and a pittiful Spirit; then all those brave Men in History, that have been renowned for superating vast and tremendous Dangers, and for overcoming potent and formidable Enemies, these must have been but a Number of mean and cowardly People; and these Men of our time must be the only Heroes, that can be Victorious without hazzard, and Triumph over poor Clergy-men that must give them no opposition. Having shew'd the Inexcusableness of those that Abuse and Vilifie the Clergy, I come to the Second thing I was to shew,

II. The Reasons Men have to Respect and Honour them. And of the many Reasons which might be given, I shall

shall Content my self with alledging only these three. We ought to Honour and Respect the Clergy.

1. Because of that near Relation which they bear to God and his Worship.
2. Because of the great Suffering of Religion, by the Contempt of Them.
3. Because they take Care of our Souls, and furthering the attainment of everlasting Salvation.

1. Therefore we ought to Honour and Respect the Clergy, because of that near Relation they bear to God and his Worship.

When ever we have a Veneration, or Esteem for any one, we not only manifest it by all Tokens of Kindness and Respect immediately to his Person, but to every thing else belonging to him, or for which he has any kindness for. Thus that awful regard which we bear to our Princes, secures not only a Respect to his Ministers and Magistrates, which represent his Power and Dignity ; but even to his very Pictures and Coins, which only bear his Image and Superscription.

*Respect due to the Clergy, because of their Relation to Religion.*

scription. We are kind not only to the Servants and Friends, but even to the Dogs and Horses of the Persons whom we Honour. And we daily see what a reproach to their Honour all great Persons esteem it to be, to have any thing belonging to them affronted or abused. How severely do Princes endeavour to revenge indignities offer'd to their Ministers; and the Nobles and Grandees in all Nations, affronts given to their Servants? Now why should we think that those that are *Ambassadors* (as the Apostle styles them) *in Christs stead*, that are the Ministers of the Great God of Heaven, that These ought more to be expos'd to indignities and affronts, than an ordinary Servant of the Peer of the Realm? Why should Gods Ministers be more abused than the Kings? And Why should not as much Respect be due to one who has Commission from Heaven, as to him who has one from the Crown? Certainly, if we had any value for Religion, we should have some for those who are employed about it; and if we did retain a hearty Honour and Esteem for God himself, we should never at this rate affront and abuse his immediate Servants. We may pretend to as much Piety, whilst we pull down

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Churches and deface Altars, as when we give such a treatment to Gods Ministers ; and one Day God may revenge this Sacriledg and Impiety as well as others ; unless we suppose that he does bear a smaller Affection to the Priests, than to the Stones and Timber of his Temple.

2. We ought to pay Respect and Honour to the Clergy ; because Religion will greatly suffer by the Contempt of Them.

*Because Religion suffers by their Contempt.*

All Men do not Judge of the Nature of things by their intrinſick Value and Excellency ; the generality of Mankind look no farther than their outside, or the common Vogue they have in the World ; they do not ſo much conſider what the things are, as what People think them to be. And thus, when they find any thing to be expoſ'd to the Contempt and Mockery of the World, they are apt to cloſe in with the Croud, to get a ſhare in the Laugh, and in reality to deſpiſe that and every thing elſe that has relation to a thing which they daily ſee ſo contemned and derided by others. This we cannot but ſee in thoſe thing, which the Vulgar have naturally the greateſt Eſteem and Veneration for ; even in Temporal Dignities. What does the World more Admire, and  
even

even Adore than the Majesty of a Prince? When a King stands right in the Opinion and Affections of his People, and has the praises and elogiums of all; what illustrious beams of Honour do we Fancy to surround his Throne, what a Number of Excellencies and Perfections do we Attribute to him, and make every thing he does or says to be August and God-like? But no sooner is he laid open to the reproach and obloquy of the People; when saucy Pamphleteers do libel against his Government, and Vilifie his Person; we then begin to fancy, the Regal Splendor we admired so before, faint, and to be but very dusky, and to think but very meanly of the Throne it self, which is possessed by one that is Thus made the Scorn and By-Word of the Factious Rabble.

Now undoubtedly, Religion must fare much worse upon this account, by how much more Men have naturally a less liking to that, than to worldly Greatness. What a little Contemptible thing will Religion appear, the Ministers and Propagators of which every Body is taught to undervalue and laugh at? Undoubtedly, Men will have a profound Respect for those Doctrines, which are Taught and Preacht by them that are look'd upon but the graver

sort of Fools and Ideots? Cant you think, they will readily comply with their Precepts and Admonitions from the Pulpit, whom they make such sport with at every Table? If this be a way to propagate the Gospel, and to promote Religion in the World; why do we not pursue the same Methods in other Matters of the like Nature? Why do we not go about to teach our Children learning and breeding, by counselling them to despise, laugh at all that is said by their Masters and Instructors? Why do we not teach our Dogs and our Horses to fall upon their Keepers? The Souldiers to despise and trample upon their Commanders? And the People to reproach and be saucy with their Magistrates? If this would be to destroy all Discipline and Government in these Cases, one would think it should not be otherways in relation to the Church; unless we found the World had that mighty bent to Godliness and Religion, that they would forcibly do their Duty therein, in opposition to all prejudice against it?

3. We ought to Respect and Honour them, because they take Care of our Souls; and further us in the attainment of everlasting Salvation.

*Because they  
take Care of  
our Souls.*

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We are told in Gods Holy Word, that the Ministers of the Gospel *are Ambassadors in Christs stead, that beseech us to be reconciled to God, that they watch for our Souls*, that they are our *Pastors and Shepherds*, and *Spiritual Fathers* ; Titles that denote an Office of the greatest tenderness and affection, of the greatest Love and Beneficence towards us. Then why should we not in point of Gratitude, return some Respect back again to them, that are the Authors of so much good to us ? With a profound Respect does Nature teach us to Venerate our Parents, who are the Authors of our Beings ? How is ingratitude in this Case, lookt upon as one of the most wicked and most hellish Crimes ? How generally do Men Respect their Masters and Tutors, that gave them their Education, and have instructed them in any good and useful Knowledge ? Now why should the Ministry, of all the World, be debard of that Esteem, that is due to the Merit of their Labours ? Certainly, they do not deserve less for their Instructions, than he that is a skilful Master of any ordinary Trade or Calling : The Benefit which they afford us, is certainly of unspeakable Value : For what can be done more to our Advantage, than to improve  
our

our Knowledge in the most Pious and most useful Truths? to deter us from, and to keep us back from the way of Destruction, and to further us in the way of everlasting Happiness; to Comfort our Souls in the dreadful times of Despondency and Despair; and to bring the glad Tidings of Salvation? Certainly, if any thing can bespeak our Respect to any Person, these things ought; unless we Love our Souls less than our Bodies; unless we are more thankful for the good things of this World, than those of the other.

I shall only speak a Word or two by way of Exhortation and Conclude. Let us, as we are Christians, leave off this unhandsome way of Vilifying the Clergy, because they are the Ministers of the Religion we Profess. If what they teach be ungrateful to us, and contrary to our way of living, we ought to amend our Lives, and not to affront their Persons. I believe if the Clergy would but flatter every one in his Vices and Inclinations, they would live easily enough, and free from all these abuses. If we would but Preach up Atheism and Infidelity, run down the fears of Hell and the terrors of Conscience, bid Men spend soft hours whilst they live, and to look for nothing after Death;

Death, then I doubt not, but we should be in the Opinion of some wity Men, a brave and a Sensible Clergy: If we should Preach Rebellion and Sacriledge and Murder, then we should be again a Godly and a painful Ministry. But our great Masters Commission, is to Instruct Mens Consciences, and not to gratifie their Humours; and if we must meet with ill usage for this, Gods will be done, but we must do our Duty. I confess it is a great discouragement to us that are Ministers of the Gospel, to be thus disrespected for the Duty of our Calling, and to be so in our Church above all others in the World. For as for the Church of *Rome* and our Dissenters, they make it their business to aggrandize, and almost to adore their Clergy; but it is the peculiar Glory of too many Members of the Church of *England* above all Men, to slight and despise them.

I do not urge this to engage our Laity to pay us the like Honour and Esteem; we should be well enough Content to have but the same usage with other ordinary People, and to be as free from affronts as they are. And if what has been said will not engage Men to pay thus much, if the unreasonableness and baseness

baseness of the contrary Carriage ; if the Dignity and Beneficialness of the Profession of the Clergy, will not procure them this, They must then patiently lie under their Misfortune, looking for the Reward which our Saviour has promised to them *that suffer for Righteousness sake.*

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